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THE STORY OF THE CHINESE CRISIS

ALEXIS KRAUSSE

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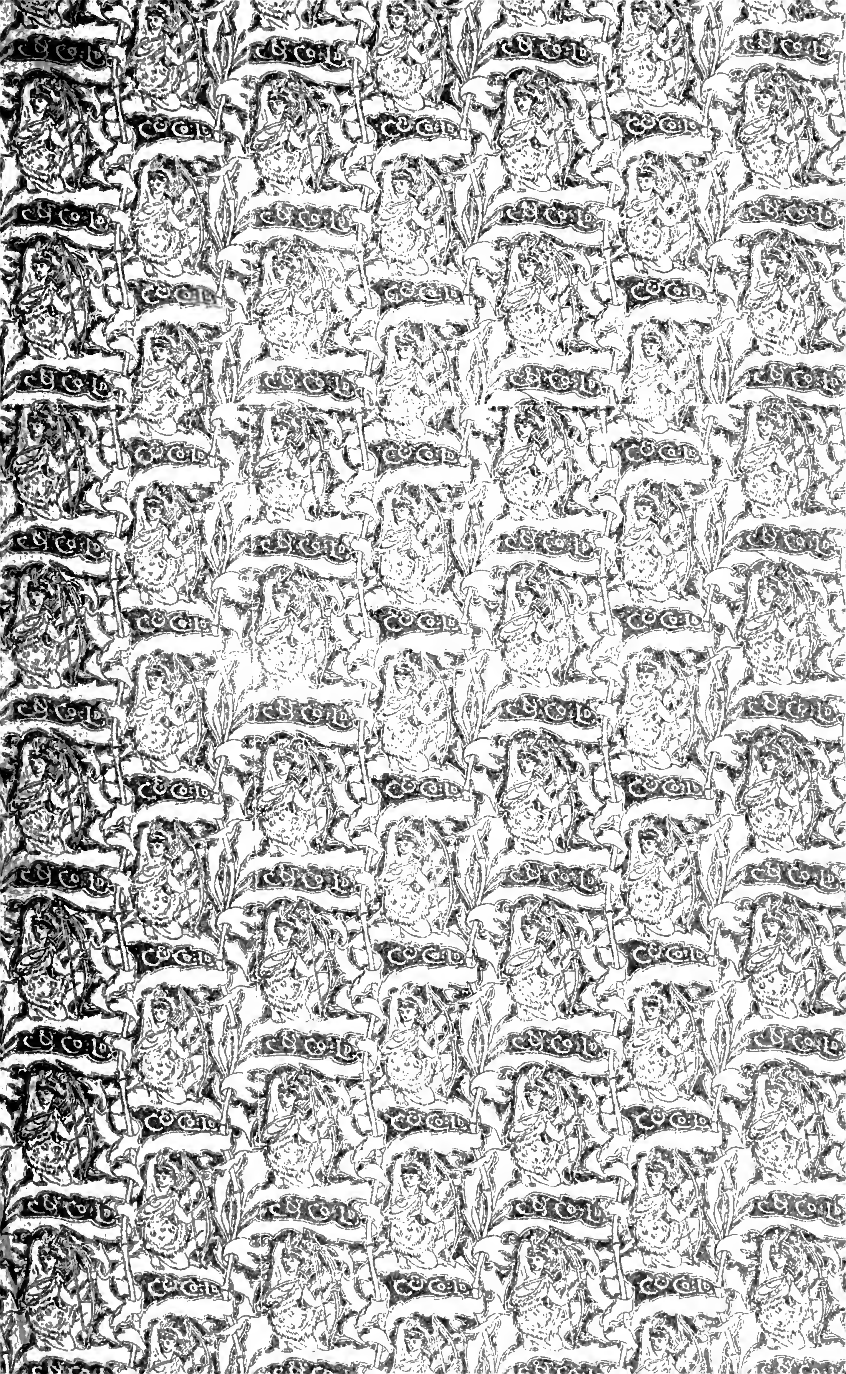

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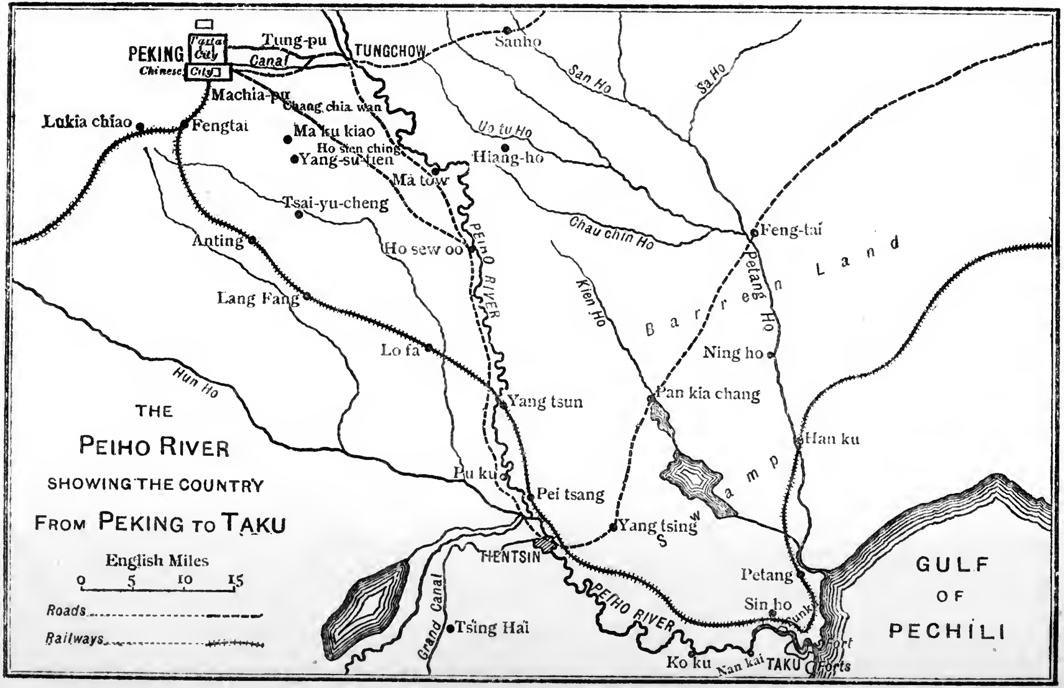
THE CHINESE CRISIS



THE PEIHO RIVER
SHOWING THE COUNTRY
FROM PEKING TO TAKU

PEKING
Tartar City
Chinese City
Tung-pu
Canal
TUNGCHOW
Sanho
San Ho
Sa Ho
Machia-pu
Chang chia wan
Lukia chiao
Fengtai
Ma ku kiao
Ho sien ching
Yang-su-tien
Ma tow
Uo tu Ho
Hiang-ho
Tsai-yu-cheng
Chau chin Ho
Feng-tai
Barren Land
Anting
Ho sew oo
PEIHO RIVER
Petang Ho
Kien Ho
Lang Fang
Ning ho
Lo fa
Hun Ho
Pan kia chang
Yang tsun
Han ku
Swamp
Pu ku
Pei tsang
Yang tsing
TIENTSIN
Grand Canal
Tsing Hai
PEIHO RIVER
Petang
Sin ho
Junk
Fort
Forts
TAKU
Nan kai
Ko ku
GULF OF PECHILI
English Miles
0 5 10 15
Roads
Railways

THE STORY OF

THE CHINESE CRISIS

BY

ALEXIS KRAUSSE

AUTHOR OF "RUSSIA IN ASIA," "CHINA IN DECAY," ETC.

WITH A SPECIALLY PREPARED MAP AND A PLAN OF PEKING

CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED
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1900

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LA BELLE SAUVAGE

PREFACE.

This little book has been written in response to a request from Messrs. Cassell and Company for a popular account of the circumstances which led up to the existing crisis in the Far East. In its preparation I have kept this point steadily in view, and sought to restrict myself to a narration of those facts in the relationship between China and the European Powers which have influenced events and tended to bring about the present trouble in the Celestial Empire.

This volume does not, therefore, contain an account of the various Chinese dynasties, neither does it include a history of the changes through which the Empire has passed during the four thousand years of its existence. It presents, instead, a plain, unvarnished narrative of the relations between China and Great Britain, Russia, France, and Germany, with just so much detail respecting the Chinese themselves as is necessary to

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present a coherent picture of the country and its inhabitants. The incidents preceding the Boxer rising are given in considerable detail, and the existing situation, with its probable outcome, is dwelt on at some length. The penultimate chapter on the Celestial capital, towards which so many eager eyes are turned, and where the centre of interest is likely to remain focussed for some time to come, may be of use in posting the reader in the topography of that city.

If the reader, after perusing the following pages, finds himself in possession of a clear appreciation of the events now in progress in Eastern Asia I shall know that my labour has not been in vain.

ALEXIS KRAUSSE.

27, Charlotte Street,
Portland Place.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

THE STORY OF THE CHINESE CRISIS.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

THE student who desires to obtain an understanding of things Celestial must approach his subject with an open mind. Prejudice has to be cast off, predilection discarded; all preconceptions should be abandoned and the reader should start on his researches with his mind a blank.

China is the home of eccentricity, the land of contradictions. In it nothing is really that which it appears to be. The characteristics of the people are different from those of any other race, and the most casual inspection of the country affords an unexpected surprise at every turn. The Chinese possess a rationale exclusively their own, and while their language,

MISTAKEN CONCEPT [illegible]

customs, and religions differ from those of the rest of the world, their methods of reasoning vary yet more greatly.

Possessed of a civilisation older than any in the world, many of the observances of the Chinese appear barbarous to the Western understanding. Yet they are able to boast of literature which is ancient and ennobling, and their moral code (if not their observance of it) leaves little to be desired.

As with the people, so with the country. From whatever aspect it be viewed, it displays a mass of contradictions and affords occasion for astonishment. And in this regard the observer is at the very outset impressed by the vastness of everything connected alike with the country and its inhabitants. China is designed on a scale which not only dwarfs all other countries, but almost defies the ordinary capacity for appreciation. It is so easy to talk of millions, but a million is a total which it is given to few people to appreciate. If the reader sit down and start counting for himself, he will be surprised at the time it will take him to count a million. Assuming he counts at the rate of one hundred every minute, he will score 6,000 in an hour. Supposing that his application and self-restraint are such as to enable him to go on counting unceasingly day and night, without any interval for rest or meals, he will require exactly 166 hours to complete his million, or just under seven days of twenty-four hours each. There are approximately four hundred million people in China, to count whom would, at the rate above given, occupy 2,766 days, or seven years and seven months without break! A moment given to the realisation of the vastness of these figures will help to bring about a vague appreciation of the dimensions which have to be discussed in connection with China, the land and the people.

I have said that China is the land of contradictions. The fact becomes apparent at the very outset. We are accustomed to speak of the Chinese Empire, to denote the vast region under the sway of the ruler who is regarded as the "Son of Heaven." There is no such thing. China is not an Empire at all, except in name. Nominally a gigantic hierarchy swayed by the will of a single autocrat, it is actually a conglomeration of semi-independent principalities, having but slight correlations with one another, and each controlled by a viceroy or governor who is to all intents and purposes king. There is little or no homogeneity in China. The component parts are welded together merely by the payment of tribute to the central Government, and beyond this liability the provinces may be regarded as separate and independent areas.

The divisions by which China is demarcated have been reduced by the loss of several regions which in former years were attached to the misnamed Empire. Their disappearance does not appear to have affected either the conditions of the country or the welfare of the people. Nepal, Turkestan, Siberia, Tonkin, Annam, parts of Burma and Korea, have all been filched from the Son of Heaven by his neighbours with small results to the rest of his kingdom, and to-day there remains a territory possessing an area second to none in the world. For, though exceeded by the Russian Empire, the tale of that brobdingnagian concern includes several million square miles of country which is perpetually frozen and utterly useless for habitation or industry; whereas most of China is not only habitable, but teems with mineral and natural resources which supply the means of existence for the population.

The total area of China covers 4,218,401 square miles, being nearly four times as extensive as the United States. This vast region is made up of a number of divisions, which are as follow :—

	Square miles.	
Manchuria	362,310	... Big as the German Empire and Austria.
Mongolia	1,288,000	.. Bigger than the United States.
Tibet	651,500	... Three times as big as Germany.
Jungaria	147,950	... Nearly as big as Spain.
Eastern Turkestan.	431,800	... Twice as big as France.
China Proper	1,336,841	... Bigger than the United States.
Total	4,218,401	

The country of Manchuria, a region three times as large as Great Britain, lies on the extreme north-east of the Chinese Empire. It contains a population of fourteen million people. It is divided into three provinces—Helung Kiang on the north, Shenking to the south, and Kirin in the centre. Manchuria is still largely undeveloped, but it is fertile, and said to be rich in mineral deposits. The people are uncouth, many of them being robbers who frequent the different caravan routes in search of plunder. The chief cities of Manchuria are Petuna, Tsitsihar, Kirin, and Moukden.

The vast region known as Mongolia comprises for the most part a sandy country covered with stunted grass, which forms the happy hunting ground of nomadic tribes. There are few towns in Mongolia; the population, which numbers about 2,000,000, dwell in tents, which they shift from time to time as occasion arises. The capital of Mongolia is Urga.

Tibet lies between British India and Burma and Turkestan. It is exceedingly mountainous, and is inhabited by a fierce and exclusive people, an immense proportion of whom are priests. The population is placed at 6,000,000. The capital of Tibet is Lhassa. The country has for many years been closed to Europeans.

Jungaria is a relatively small region lying on the borders of Russian Turkestan and Mongolia. It has a population of 600,000. Its capital is Kulja.

Eastern Turkestan, all that remains of the one time vast region possessed by China in Central Asia, is a wild country inhabited by a wild people. The capital is Yarkand. Owing to the mountain ranges by which this country is surrounded, intercourse with it is restricted, and its features are little known. It contains a population of 500,000.

Coming to China Proper, we find that it consists of eighteen provinces of varying size, all densely populated and teeming with agricultural and mineral wealth. The provinces of China may be classified as follow:—

On the north are Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Pechili.

In Central China are Sechuan, Hupeh, Honan, Anwei, Kweichau, Hunan, and Kiangsi.

On the south are Yunnan and Kwangsi.

And on the coast-line to the east are Shantung, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien, and Kwangtung.

Of these Sechuan, with its 166,800 square miles, is bigger than Great Britain and Ireland, while Fukien, which contains only 38,500 square miles, is only as big as Scotland and Wales added together. Most of these provinces teem with a dense population, which is in many places as closely packed as in London. Thus the inhabitants of the province of Shantung average 557 to the square mile. Those of Fukien average 574, and those of Hupeh, 486.

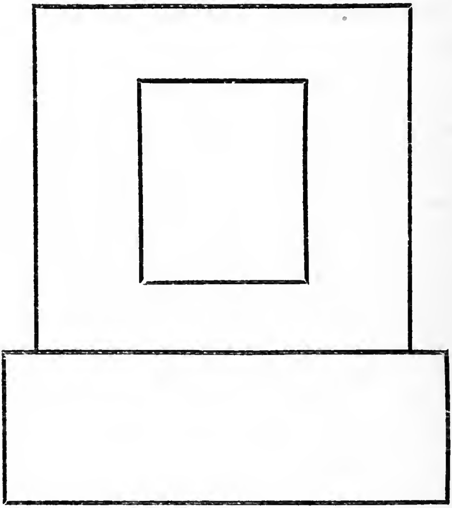
Of the physical features of China the most remarkable are the great rivers, which traverse the country in every direction. The most noteworthy of these are the Yangtse Kiang, Hoang Ho, Sikiang, Peiho, and Min. The Yangtse Kiang is the third largest river in the world. It rises in the highlands of Tibet, and after a course of upwards of four thousand miles, during which it traverses the whole of the central provinces, it enters the sea midway between Hong Kong and Wei Hai Wei. The Hoang Ho, though a vast river, is not navigable for any distance. The Peiho, Min, and Sikiang are rivers which, though less considerable, open up waterways to a number of the most prosperous of the cities of China. Besides these main rivers, there are a multiplicity of tributaries and canals which form a perfect network of communications, radiating to every part of the eighteen provinces.

In China these waterways supply the chief, if not the only, means of intercommunication. Roads, in the European sense of the term, are practically non-existent; railways are in their infancy; and the bulk of the transport of merchandise and travellers is conducted by means of boats.

Most noteworthy among the numerous canals which establish connecting links between the rivers is the Grand Canal, constructed six hundred years ago by the Emperor Chitsou, better known as Kublai Khan, with the object of providing a direct waterway between Peking and Canton. This canal follows the course of the Peiho river from Peking to Tientsin, whence it trends southward. It crosses the Hoang Ho and Yangtse Kiang and proceeds to Hangchau, a distance of 600 miles, in nearly a straight line. The Grand Canal has, like everything else in China, been sadly neglected of late years, and is in many parts choked with weeds.

Rich as China is in interior waterways, she is equally fortunate in the seaports along her coasts. In this respect the country is one of the best provided in the world; nowhere are a finer or safer lot of deep-water harbours to be found. From the northern extremity of the Gulf of Pechili to the Gulf of Tonkin the littoral teems with bays and inlets capable of affording shelter to vessels of large draught. To name only a few of the most important, there are the harbours of Newchang, Port Arthur, Talienwan, Port Adams, Wei Hai Wei, Kiao Chau, Nimrod Sound, Sanmun Bay, Namkuan Harbour, Hinghua, Samsah Inlet, Amoy and Swatow Harbours, Mirs Bay, Bocca Tigris, and Pakhoi Roadstead, besides many more. The land routes of China are, on the other hand, bad and few. They consist mainly of caravan tracks between the chief commercial centres, such as that between Peking and Kiakhta across the Gobi Desert viâ Kalgan and Urga, the Shan-hai-kuan route from Peking to the Gulf of Pechili and Manchuria, that to Paoting and the province of Shansi, and the great Asiatic road viâ Sigan to Jungaria and Tibet.

The cities of China are remarkable in their similarity to one another. All are walled in, though in most cases the walls have been allowed to fall into a state of ruin. The most interesting is in many respects Peking, the northern capital, so called to distinguish it from Nanking, the southern capital, which it replaced. Peking is in reality a conglomeration of three cities placed thus—



The upper rectangle represents the Tartar or Manchu city, the lower the Chinese city. The enclosed space is the "Imperial Forbidden City," containing the palaces and official residences of the Emperor and his family. The population of Peking is estimated at about a million. The city is in many respects unique. The palace buildings are the only ones which are more than one storey in height. Except outside the foreign Legations, the streets are nowhere paved, the roads are mere earth tracks, drains or sanitary arrangements are non-existent, and the whole atmosphere is in dry weather permeated by clouds of fine dust from the friable soil on which the city stands. In wet weather the roads become quagmires, in which the wheels of carts frequently sink up to the axles, and many people have perished by sinking in the mud out of their depth. Communication with Peking is difficult. It can be reached by water, the route ascending the Peiho river from Taku to Tungchow, and thence following the canal to the capital; or by road viâ Tientsin and Tungchow, whence there is an ancient causeway laid with huge blocks of granite, which have been neglected for so many years that some of them are more than a foot above or below the others.

Next to Peking the most important cities of China are Tientsin, Nanking, Hankow, Hangchau, Ningpo, Fuchow, Canton, and Nanning. In addition to these, and of only slightly less importance, are Sigan, Chungking, Sian Yang, Chinkiang, Tsinan, Chingtufu, Suchow, Wuchow, and Yunnan.

The most important commercial emporium is Shanghai, the next in importance being in the north Tientsin, and in the south Canton. Hong Kong is not a Chinese city, but a British colony, and on this account stands by itself.

The natural wealth and resources of China are exceptional, even when viewed with an appreciation of its size and population. Its most important articles are, of course, tea and silk, though, owing to the careless preparation of the plant and the improved methods followed in Ceylon, the tea trade is decreasing. Besides these, China produces vast quantities of wax, cotton, and rice, which are exported by the shipload.

The best black tea is produced in the province of Hupeh, the choicest green in Anwei. The inferior qualities are mostly used in the preparation of brick tea. The process consists in welding the inferior leaf and dust together with mucilage and water into the form of a brick. Thus prepared, the tea keeps well. It is easily portable, and much used by the Russians and people of Siberia and Mongolia. In the latter country brick tea often passes as the standard of exchange, and serves in the place of a coinage.

The silk industry of China for some years showed symptoms of declining even as the tea trade had done, but the introduction of filatures, where the cocoons are treated by machinery, served to save the situation, and thanks mainly to the energies of the Japanese in this direction the China manufacture of silk is on the increase.

The ease with which the cotton plant is

cultivated in the alluvial lands near the great rivers in South China, where three crops a year are by no means unknown, has tended to develop the spinning industry in the country. The handmade cloth is, however, neither as good nor as durable as the Manchester product, and the import of cottons into China from this country is enormous.

Another important industry in South and West China is the cultivation of the poppy, and, notwithstanding the oft-repeated protest against the importation of the Indian drug, the manufacture of native opium is simply enormous. There is probably no subject connected with China, after the much misunderstood religious question, which is so misconstrued as the opium question. The Chinese have been a confirmed opium-smoking nation for centuries. There are, of course, among them individuals who, like our own habitual drunkards, never know when to stop, and who injure their health and become decrepit through misuse of the drug; but in the case of the overwhelming majority no ill effects are produced, and the opium habit is not indulged in to excess. Notwithstanding this, the trade in the drug is very large, and quantities are still imported from India.

Besides the articles above enumerated, tobacco is largely grown in many provinces, as is also sugar in the rich lands of the south-east.

The chief wealth of China, however, lies in her mineral deposits, which appear to be inexhaustible. The development of these has, however, only been recently begun. It is not yet realised that China contains more prolific seams of coal than any other country in the world. Iron, lead, and copper also abound. Gold is worked at a profit in Manchuria, and salt deposits are frequent in the north-west provinces.

Thus we see in China a marvellous store of wealth, which only awaits that development which the indifference of the Chinese fails to supply. With the capital necessary to exploit the mineral deposits, and the energy to organise the available labour, China would probably become one of the richest countries in the world. It remains to be seen whether recent events are likely to result in an awakening of the country to its vast possibilities, or whether the inert population will continue in their listlessness, and resume the repressive influence with which they have so far succeeded in checking all attempts at enlightenment.

Turning from the land to the people, we find ourselves faced by the most remarkable and most contradictory race on earth. It is an absurdity to regard the Celestial as a barbarian. He is nothing of the sort. So far from being a savage, he is a member of a very highly civilised and cultured race, which in many respects is capable of holding its own against the most refined European people. The civilisation of the Chinese is, however, in marked contrast to that of the European, and the difference is all the more accentuated by the mental characteristics of the former.

It may seem a bold thing to say, but I hold that no Englishman has yet attained a real appreciation of the Chinese character. The reason for this is plain. The Celestial is in every respect as intelligent as the European, but he works his intelligence on different lines. A brief acquaintance with the subject of a Western Empire will enable one to attain an understanding of his character and his train of thought, and by these means one is enabled to forecast his probable course of action in a given contingency. With the Chinaman it is otherwise. One knows, when calculating the probable conclusions of an Englishman, that he will indubitably recognise the fact that two and two make four, and with this knowledge it is possible to anticipate the line of reasoning he will pursue in a given set of circumstances. With the Celestial this reasoning is by no means justified. According to his ratiocination, two and two will as likely as not make five, and to render the situation the more perplexing there is not the slightest constancy about his reasoning. Circumstances which will cause him to conclude logically that two and two make five under one set of circumstances, will with equal reason, prompt him on another occasion, to satisfy himself that they make three, or six, and it is therefore a matter of utter impossibility to anticipate the probable trend of his mind.

It is this circumstance that handicaps the European in his relations with the Oriental. His brain is unfathomable, his course of action an unfailing source of surprise, and his attitude invariably unexpected.

The Chinese are descended from the Tartars, and they have from time to time been reinforced by the Mongol and Manchu hordes which have conquered and overrun their country. The race is a hardy one, notable for the sturdy physique and high intelligence implanted in it. The Chinaman is peaceable, intelligent, eminently sociable, yet exclusive. Perhaps his most marked characteristic is his self-conceit, and the arrogance of the better classes is phenomenal. Morally the Celestial is a pharisee. He is usually hypocritical and corrupt, and no things are wider apart than his principles and his practice. The education of the Celestial centres in the study of the writings of Confucius and Mencius, moralists who wasted much ink in the enunciation of impossible codes of observances; and these he devotes the earlier years of his life to learning off by heart, presumably with the object of avoiding them as far as possible in his practice ever afterwards. The appreciation of learning in China is very high. Scholarship is the only passport to influence and power, and its attainment opens the only door to State employment. The officials, from the highest to the lowest, are chosen from among the "literati" or scholars who have acquitted themselves best in the periodic examinations held at the principal cities, where persons of all ages compete in the writing of essays and the deciphering of complex passages in the writings of the sages above referred to.

Thus it appears that intelligence is the only passport to fame, and in theory this is so. In practice, however, it by no means follows that the most persistent student attains the highest honours, and a judicious bribe to an examiner is a surer road to scholarly fame than unlimited years of application. In this regard, as in every other within the Celestial Empire, the desire to make a financial gain overcomes the highest principles laid down, and the corruptibility of the mandarins is such as to make them the servants of anyone, however humble or ignorant, who possesses the means wherewith to tempt them.

From the "literati" who have obtained the necessary certificates of ability are chosen the viceroys, governors, and lesser mandarins, to whom the administration of the Chinese Empire is entrusted. Birth counts for little in this respect. The son of a beggar has as good a chance of becoming a "taotai" as has the son of a State secretary. The culminating influence in every respect is the amount of money with which the candidate is able to bribe the authorities, and the principle entailed in this regard holds good throughout his official career. Having bribed his examiners and attained the much desired certificate of his degree, the newly fledged mandarin has to look out for a berth. As the posts falling vacant are about a tithe of the number of applicants, it by no means follows that the holder of a degree will attain office. That is a question which again depends on his means. If he possess the wherewithal to make it worth the while of an influential Court official to induct him into a magisterial or executive appointment, well and good; and, having been appointed, he departs for the scene of his future labours, and hastens to avail himself of the opportunities which are at length his own.

Whatever his position, he keeps steadily in view his duty to himself, which consists in making hay while the sun shines. He accordingly sells justice without prejudice or favour to the highest bidder, and takes bribes from whomsoever offers them. When, as generally happens, the plaintiff and defendant appearing before him both attempt to influence his decision, he consoles himself for having to disappoint one of them by the consideration that the loser will probably bribe him further in order to evade the sentence passed on him. As soon as he feels his new-found power, the mandarin learns to avail himself of his opportunities for unearned gain: he shields evil-doers so long as they share the profits of their evil-doing with him, he winks at breaches of the law for a consideration, and he inflicts drastic penalties on those who have been so unfortunate as to offend wealthy enemies who are prepared to pay the mandarin for their discomfiture.

Part of the mandarin's duties consists in collecting the revenue of the province, district, city, or parish over which he presides. Simple as this obligation may appear, it becomes extremely complicated by his method of action. The greater part of the taxes he collects he keeps, transmitting to the authorities at Peking only such portion as he deems will be sufficient to pacify the Government. A very important duty in this connection is to transmit with each payment a present to the high official to whom he owes his appointment. Were he to fail in this, his patron would more likely than not represent to the authorities that the defaulting mandarin was not suited to his post, and would obtain his recall. The payment to the Treasury is usually based on the amount which was transmitted the previous year. So long as that is not reduced, the sum sent, as a rule, satisfies the Treasury.

A mandarin is generally appointed for a period of three years. It behoves him, therefore, to lose no time in feathering his nest. His official salary is, as a rule, ridiculously small—insufficient, in fact, to pay the expenses of his yamên, or office. Yet he lives in the greatest state, and treats his subjects like dirt. Few of those officials who have held employment for a year or so are otherwise than wealthy men; many are immensely rich, and all are corrupt beyond salvation.

The venality and greed shown by the mandarin class are typical of the Chinese character. While taking bribes, levying blackmail, and enriching themselves by any means, these charlatans pose as being alike virtuous and incorruptible. Their dicta while on the bench are interlarded with moral platitudes from Confucius and Mencius, which they enunciate with the same unctuousness as our own Mr. Stiggins used to employ when quoting Scripture; and while protesting the sense of duty and incorruptibility by which they are actuated, their palms close shamelessly on bribes, in return for which they would joyfully barter their souls.

The example set by the mandarins is followed by their underlings. The lesser officials, down to the yamên runners, the prototypes of our own police, are all as corrupt and venal as their masters. Nothing is impossible at their hands, for a consideration; and there is ample evidence that these men will share their ill-gained earnings with their masters, who readily act in league with them, at a price.

Just as the officials miss no opportunity of enriching themselves by devious means, so do the masses strive to profit by every means open to the unscrupulous. The form in which the lower classes attain illicit gain is known by a generic term which is both expressive and apt. Throughout China there is a custom known as "squeeze," a word which signifies an unearned profit or commission wrung out of another without his knowledge or consent, and this obtains in well-nigh every transaction recorded. Your servant who does your shopping receives a percentage of the purchase money back from the shopkeepers. That is his squeeze. He annexes a portion of well-nigh every commodity you buy yourself. He receives a commission from your landlord on your rent, an interest from your banker on your account, and a blackmail from your tailor on the cost of the clothes you wear. You pay your laundryman hundreds of cash* more than he receives, the difference being squeezed by your trusted servant; you give him a Bank of England note to change into Chinese silver, he gives you less than the exchange value for the same reason. Give him a number of letters to post, and he will retain and destroy one, so as to profit by the cost of the stamps. His squeeze comes of a divine right which none dare gainsay. Your interests may suffer, but his privilege to squeeze must be respected.

The extent to which this pernicious custom obtains throughout China surpasses belief. None are above it; it is a custom recognised by the entire community. Your compradore (*i.e.* purchaser, confidential clerk, one who buys for another) makes his squeeze on every transaction he negotiates, however well you may treat him and whatever pay he draws. In selling your goods he will take a lower price than could be got, in order that he may obtain his squeeze from the purchaser. In buying goods he will pay more than their value for the same reason. In passing goods through the "likin" barriers, or native customs, he will pay duty on half the quantity in order that he and the customs officer may share the balance as their squeeze. In short, there is no limit to the exactions made in furtherance of this pernicious custom. A Chinaman does nothing gratuitously. He regards his salary as a species of retaining fee. His remuneration he derives from his opportunities of extorting squeeze. And so widespread is the usage that it is no uncommon thing for one's trusted housekeeper to tamper with the household scales and weights so as to ensure short quantities being passed as correct, while he shares the profit with the vendor. There is no way of evading this impost. A Chinaman would sell his grandmother for a profit of a few cash.

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* A cash is a copper coin with a square hole in the middle, so as to enable it to be kept on a string. Its value varies in different parts of China, the average being about twenty cash to one penny English.

The one soft spot in the Chinese conscience is his respect for his forbears. Ancestor worship may be said to comprise the alpha and the omega of a Chinaman's creed. It is the only outward manifestation of his religious instinct, and his veneration for the tomb of his ancestors constitutes the one touch of feeling in his composition.

Nominally a Buddhist, the Celestial's creed troubles him but little; worship, in the Western sense of the word, is unknown to him. Superstitious to a degree, he regards *fengshui*, or luck, as the predisposing force in mundane things; but he realises no appreciation of a Divine influence or a causation such as our own idea of Providence. His theology rests lightly on him, and he is at liberty to concentrate all his attention on worldly interests.

The most important function in a Chinese life takes place—to make a bull—after death. A Chinese funeral is a very important function, and is worked up to for a series of years before death. The body is never buried until after a period of forty-one days from the time of decease, that being the period of mourning, during which the corpse is retained above ground, to the gratification of the friends of the departed and the olfactory annoyance of his European neighbours. A lucky day having been chosen by the professional soothsayers, and a fortunate spot (which may as likely as not be in the middle of a neighbour's field) having been chosen, the departed is buried with marked ceremony, the function being celebrated by the feasting of his family and friends. Subsequently his tomb constitutes a shrine, where the survivors attend at intervals and perform their devotions.

ne

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[illegible] this.

Despite the squeezing tendency of the Chinese, they are, as a rule, scrupulously honest. It is a rare thing for a servant to rob his master, except by way of extracting a profit on a purchase or a sale, and he is generally a reliable and trustworthy henchman.

The most remarkable of all the curious traits in the Chinese character is his turbidity of reasoning. As already stated, two and two do not make four in China, and many remarkable instances are to be obtained of the eccentricity of Chinese thought. What, for instance, can be said of a nation—who used the printing press before it was known in Europe, who invented gunpowder, and who possessed a knowledge of the sidereal system centuries ago—who, when a native was killed on the Shanghai-Woosung Railway shortly after the line was opened, insisted that the engines should have eyes painted on the buffers to enable them to see where they were going? How can one regard the proposal of the mandarin who, after a railway accident, suggested that the *débris* should be left where it was, and the road reconstructed round it; and who paint circles of black paint on the walls of their cities, in order that the people may mistake them, at a distance, for cannon, and be accordingly impressed?

Among the many characteristics of the

Celestial mind, two stand out in strong relief to all the rest. These are the inherent conceit of the people and their inborn distrust of strangers. It is not difficult to account for either. The former is the outcome of centuries of separate existence, during which no intercourse was held with other than allied races. The latter is due to the repeated overrunning of China by hordes of people more virile than the Chinese, who succeeded in bring the race under subjection. From the earliest relations between the Chinese and Europeans these traits have been freely exhibited, and they exist as firmly to-day as was the case three centuries ago. From his earliest childhood the Chinaman is taught to believe that the Chinese are the dominant race of the world, and that all others are mere barbarians, who cannot compare with them in point of culture and refinement. Foreign methods he regards as mere subterfuges adopted from the lack of the necessary ability to understand his own; and the contrast between Celestial and European ideas, instead of arousing interest in the Chinese mind, only evokes a feeling of contempt for their inferiority.

The Chinese social system is, in short, a system of make-believe. It deceives no one, but is invariably pretending to be what it is not, and while controlled by the meanest instincts poses as being actuated by the purest aims and highest virtues. China is the land of fraud and sham, where the people despoil each other without pity or hesitation. Conscience is an unknown attribute in the Chinese character. Thus is the Chinaman baffling to the European. He is without the pale of accepted civilisation, and the complexities of his nature are such as to cause him to be regarded as an enigma incapable of solution. His very sentient instincts are opposed to Western nature; he is endowed with a lack of sensitiveness extraordinary in the callousness it conveys. A Chinaman will endure suffering which to a European will entail the utmost torture with un unruffled countenance, and the indifference with which he undergoes punishment or suffers death is almost unnatural in its degree.

His mental attributes are as accentuated as his physical characteristics. He seems to have a kink in his brain which constricts his train of thought and diverts his reasoning from a straight line. It is as impossible to get a straightforward answer to a question from him as it is to extort the truth. He is, moreover, so strongly wedded to his system of reasoning that he never forsakes it. Of the many cases of Chinese who have been educated in Europe, and who have absorbed an appreciation of European ideas, no single one has ever yet adopted these to his own use. All have retrograded to the Celestial philosophy and returned to the home of their ancestors, there to become absorbed in the Celestial chaos and forget the refinements of which they have tasted. I am not acquainted with a single instance of a Chinaman who has become expatriated. The hold of the Chinese idea is too strong on them to permit of their exchanging it in favour of another system, and so the Chinaman remains to-day as Chinese as he was four thousand years ago.

The Government of China is an instance of extreme centralisation which fails in the object for which it is devised. The country is nominally vested in the Emperor, who is regarded as the father of his people. He is thought to stand between his subjects and God, and his official title, "Son of Heaven," bears testimony to the veneration in which he is supposed to be held. The word of the Emperor is law, and as such obeyed to the furthest limits of the Empire. As a matter of fact, most of the Imperial edicts issued fail in their purpose and are openly evaded by the highest officials in the land.

The Emperor is aided in his supervision of the country by six boards or councils, each of which is, subject to the Emperor's will, supreme in its department. These boards are as follow:

The Civil Office, in which is vested the conferring of distinctions, the granting of precedence, and the honouring of distinguished citizens; the Board of Revenue, which is the Chinese equivalent of our own Treasury; the Board of Rights, concerned with ritual, the organisation of State functions, and questions of Court etiquette; the Boards of War and of Works; and the Board of Punishments, which is the most fully occupied, and metes out sentences on officials who have fallen under the ordinances of the law or given offence to their superiors. In addition to these six boards, there is another which was created, in 1861, on the appointment of foreign Ministers to Peking by the Powers. It became necessary to arrange a means by which these Ministers could confer with the Chinese Government. To accord the right of audience with the Emperor, as is done in all other countries where diplomatic representatives are placed, would have been to outrage the exclusive susceptibilities of the Chinese. A new board was therefore constituted, under the name of the Tsungli-Yamên, or Foreign Office, which comprised at first three and later on eleven members, and serves as a buffer between the Government and the foreign representatives.

The system of government which exists in the eighteen provinces has already been outlined. Each province is placed in charge of a viceroy or governor—a high mandarin who has friends at Court; and he in turn is aided by a treasurer, a chancellor, a judge, a "taotai" or superintendent, and a number of magistrates. All these are mandarins of varying degree. Each is responsible to his immediate superior, and each intent on making the most of his opportunities in his own interest. They are, with few exceptions, greedy, cruel, ignorant, intolerant, and arrogant. The only means of dealing satisfactorily with them is through the medium of bribes, and they are as a class utterly venal and untrustworthy.

The following are the sources of revenue in China: The land tax levied on all agricultural land (which is the most productive source of income), the salt duty, the opium tax, the native customs, the "likin" or transit dues, and the Imperial maritime customs. The last named represent the duties of 5 per cent. collected on all foreign merchandise imported into China. The "likin" and native customs are the media of much extortion on the part of the mandarins. Both are extorted from the trading classes at their pleasure, and the amount charged is frequently double that authorised by law. The impost of these numerous taxes tends to restrict trade in the interior, and the commerce with other countries is considerably handicapped by the excessive duties imposed. It is instructive to note that in regard to the land tax it has been shown by Sir Nicholas Hannen that, whereas the area of the nine agricultural provinces amounts to four hundred million acres, on which the authorised tax should produce a total of three hundred million taels,* or fifty million pounds sterling, the actual amount received under this head at the Board of Customs in 1896 was thirty-one and a half million taels, or £5,250,000! There can be no question as to the tax having been collected to the full. The balance—eight-ninths of the total—found its way into the pockets of the mandarins, where it remained.

Slight as is the foregoing sketch of the land and the people of China, it should serve to impress upon the reader the marked contrasts alike in the customs, observances, and mental characteristics of the Chinese, as compared with other nations. In order to appreciate properly the history of China, and the events which have led up to the present crisis in that country, it is necessary to bear these facts in mind, and to remember that the Chinese are a people apart from others, that their methods of reasoning are different from our own, that their intelligence as compared with that of Western nations is warped, and that their ideals are such as are entirely out of sympathy with those of the people of Europe.

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* A tael is a piece of silver weighing an ounce, and approximately worth three shillings and fourpence.

If the reader will make a mental note of these circumstances, he will be able the better to realise the actual condition of things in China, and to arrive at a true appreciation of one of the most remarkable problems the world has ever seen. He will not be able to appreciate the real character of the Chinaman, for the reason that this is a feat utterly impossible to the European. It requires an Oriental mind with an Oriental training to realise the refinements of the Oriental character, and the Englishman is best qualified to obtain a vague notion of the Celestial who realises that a complete understanding of his mental equilibrium is to him impossible.

CHAPTER II.

MODERN CHINESE HISTORY.

China possesses a history which goes back more than four thousand years. The Emperor Hwangti, the first of whom any record survives, ascended the throne 2,637 years before Christ, and his successors have continued the line of Sons of Heaven in sequence, interrupted only by revolutions accompanied by changes of dynasty. The history of China contains a record of conquest and reconquest at the hands of various hordes who have in turn subdued the Chinese and enforced their sway over them. But the bulk of the chronicle involved, which partakes largely of the nature of a romance, is irrelevant to the issue under consideration. For the purpose of the present volume it is necessary only to detail such incidents in Chinese history as led up to and are connected with the intercourse between the Celestials and Europeans, and the representatives of Occident and Orient did not come into contact until China already possessed a history of extreme antiquity.

After being overrun by the Mongol conqueror Kublai Khan, the empire came under the sway of a Mongol dynasty, which endured for nearly one hundred years. It was during this period that the first European traveller visited China, in the person of the famous Marco Polo, an Italian merchant, who found his way to Peking in 1275. Having paid two visits to the Flowery Land, where he was well received, he returned to Europe and wrote his famous travels, which to-day supply a delightful picture of mediæval thought. After Marco Polo's time, China remained practically unvisited by Western travellers for upwards of two centuries. Meanwhile another revolution occurred, the Mongol dynasty being replaced by a line of emperors rejoicing in the generic title of Ming, which endured for three centuries; and while under their auspices China was visited by a Portuguese traveller, one Don Fernand Perez, who also wrote his experiences, which still survive. In 1581 a party of Jesuit missionaries found their way to the Flowery Land, where they set about making converts to Christianity; while a number of Portuguese traders landed in the south and occupied the island of Macao, where they entered into trade with the Chinese.

In 1616 the Manchus left their country and descended on China, with the result that they succeeded in placing that empire under their sway. The Manchu dynasty obtained possession of the Celestial throne in 1644, and a line of nine emperors has upheld it till to-day. It was during the reign of Chitsou, the first of these, that the initial attempt was made by European countries to open up relations with the Celestial Empire.

In 1634 a Captain Weddell brought his ship to anchor off the estuary of the Canton river, which he subsequently ascended, and discovered Canton. He appears to have been, upon the whole, well received by the natives, who regarded him as a curious species of animal, for whose wares they eagerly bartered tea, silk, and other native produce. In due course Weddell returned to England with a cargo of curios, and the first shipment of tea to this country attracted a great deal of attention.

Shortly after the opening up of relations with the Chinese by the English, the Russians sought to attain friendly relations with the Chinese. The conquest of Siberia in the beginning of the seventeenth century had made Asiatic Russia contiguous to the Chinese frontier over a length of three thousand miles, and the Tsar Alexis sought to improve the occasion by arriving at an understanding with the Son of Heaven. His efforts were rebuffed and his overtures rejected. Successive emissaries to the Court of Peking were cavalierly treated, and the Chinese assumed so arrogant an air towards their neighbours as to prevent any friendship between the two. Meanwhile a series of Russian emissaries continued to exploit Siberia, and crossing the limits of Russian soil raised settlements south of the Amur river within the area under Chinese dominion. After thus extending the empire of the Tsar for several years, the Russians were opposed by the Chinese, by whom they were discomfited, and by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, signed on the 27th August, 1689, Russia undertook to retire to the north of the Amur and to restore the region she had occupied to China. This incident is noteworthy as being one of the very few occasions on which Russia has given up territory she had already occupied, and it affords evidence of the relative strength of the Chinese of those days in triumphing over the emissaries of the Tsar.

On the accession of Peter the Great, in 1689, that monarch sought to obtain an understanding with China, and to this end he despatched a mission, under one Eberhardt Ysbrand Ides, to Peking. Ides was well received by the Emperor Kanghi, and obtained from him several privileges, including the right to station a priest in the Celestial capital to administer the rites of the Greek Church to such persons as followed its teaching. Thus it came about that a missionary was officially installed in Peking, a course which the Russians have never repealed. The mission of Ides was followed by that of Captain Leon Ismaloff, who, accompanied by M. de Lange, arrived in Peking in 1719. After remaining some time, Ismaloff, having obtained permission to station a resident Ambassador in the capital, returned to St. Petersburg, leaving de Lange as Russian representative in that city. As soon as Ismaloff had departed, de Lange was treated to various indignities by the Chinese. He was detained in the house which had been set apart for his use, and was not permitted to go into the city. A caravan which Peter sent to trade with the Chinese was dismissed to the Mongolian frontier, de Lange was bidden quit the capital, and told to inform his Imperial master that any future intercourse between the two countries would be restricted to the Siberian borderland.

Notwithstanding this rebuff, the Russians remained firm in their intentions of despoiling the Chinese. In 1746 one Cherikof established fortified posts on the Amur river, and he was followed by Captain Golovkin, who demanded the right of free navigation of that river for the Russians, a demand which was promptly refused by the Chinese.

Towards the close of this century the United States made its first attempt to open relations with China. The Pacific coast of America is much nearer to China than is that of Great Britain, and the Americans, hearing of the wealth and resources of Cathay, sought to reach that country with the object of developing trade there. Accordingly an American vessel, the *Empress*, sailed for Canton in 1784, and commenced trading with the Chinese, and the commerce between the two countries thus inaugurated has continued and increased ever since. Two years later Captain Shaw was appointed first United States Consul for China, and under his auspices a trade in American cotton was started with China.

The attention which had been drawn to China by the importation of tea into England and the accounts of Captain Weddell's experiences served to interest the traders of this country in the Chinese. In 1793 it was decided by George III. to send an embassy to Peking to open friendly relations with the Emperor, and Lord Macartney was chosen as Ambassador. He sailed from Portsmouth in September, and arrived at the entrance to the Peiho the following August. He took with him a large and valuable collection of presents, and was received with every honour by the Chinese, who escorted him up the river and accompanied him to Peking, where he was received by the Emperor, Keen Lung, in full state at his hunting lodge at Jehol. The mandarins and officials were by no means friendly in their attitude towards Lord Macartney. They regarded him as the emissary of a barbarian people, and, resenting the honour accorded him of an audience at the hands of the Emperor, did all they could to prevent the ceremony taking place.

They were, however, unsuccessful. Their representations that the British envoy would be expected to undergo various indignities before he was permitted to enter the Imperial presence, and that he would be required to perform the triple prostration, known as the "kow-tow," when received, did not deter Lord Macartney, who replied that the Emperor had notified his willingness to receive him, and that he had made up his mind to go, and would pay him the same respect as he would pay to his own sovereign; but that he would not humble himself or take any steps which might be unworthy of the representative of the King of England.

Lord Macartney was accordingly received by Keen Lung in the gardens of his palace, and he was bidden to a banquet at which the Emperor ate at the same table with him. No direct results were, however, attained by the mission, its achievements being merely an exchange of friendly sentiments, all opportunities for discussing politics or negotiating a treaty being prevented by the hostile activity of the mandarins, all of whom were highly indignant at the honours which were showered on the representative of a nation of foreign barbarians.

Lord Macartney, after a final audience with the Emperor, took his farewell, and returned overland to Canton, whence he sailed for England. His journey across China was marked by a constant exhibition of unfriendly feeling and contempt, by the natives, many of whom hurled abuse in unmeasured terms at the Ambassador as he progressed. Thus, owing to the anti-foreign attitude of the Chinese, the first British envoy returned from China without having attained more than an interchange of compliments with the Chinese Emperor.

While the British embassy was being received at Peking the relations between the English traders who were congregating at Canton and the natives were becoming strained. The people of Kwangtung were a masterful and jealous race, who held all foreigners in the utmost contempt, and insults and indignities were constantly hurled at the "barbarians" who had ventured among them intent on trade. The Chinese had, however, heard of the feats achieved by the foreigners elsewhere. Their conquest of the native princes of India was noised abroad, and the Celestials came to appreciate the fact that their visitors were a sturdy and resourceful race, whom it might not be easy to repel. With true Oriental diplomacy, therefore, they resolved to await events and bide their time until a suitable opportunity arose for ridding themselves of their unwelcome colonists, and an air of outward friendship, if not of esteem, was maintained. Meanwhile the British merchants increased at Canton and their trade grew, and the home Government, encouraged by these facts, determined to follow up the embassy of Lord Macartney by the despatch of a second envoy. The Ambassador chosen was Lord Amherst, who left England on the 8th February, 1816. Lord Amherst was charged with the concluding of a commercial treaty between China and England, to settle the conditions under which trade might be conducted between the two countries.

Lord Amherst does not appear to have possessed the qualifications most necessary to a diplomatist. He seems to have been short-tempered, impulsive, and obstinate, and to have lacked patience and persistence. He duly arrived at Tientsin, and found the mandarins strongly opposed to the object of his mission. They protested that there was no need for a commercial treaty, and asserted that the Emperor could not under any circumstances consent to grant an audience except on condition that the envoy would agree to perform the "kow-tow" and abase himself before the figure of the Son of Heaven. More than this, they demanded that previous to entering the Imperial presence Lord Amherst should humble himself before a painting of the Emperor Kiaking, who had succeeded Keen Lung on the throne.

To these demands Lord Amherst replied that he was the accredited Ambassador of the ruler of England, who was quite as powerful a monarch as the Emperor of China, and that he would continue his journey to Peking and there seek an audience with the Emperor in such manner as was due to the representative of the ruler of England. Accordingly the mission found its way to Peking, accompanied by a Chinese escort bearing, unknown to the British Ambassador, a flag on which was an inscription in Chinese characters signifying "tribute bearer." The party were thus regarded by the Chinese through whom they passed as a deputation from a tributary ruler conveying presents to the Emperor of China.

On arriving at Peking the question of the "kow-tow" was again raised, with the result that Lord Amherst announced his firm determination not to perform the required genuflexion. Some friction followed, of which the mandarins availed themselves to make a scene, in the hope of causing Lord Amherst to withdraw. He was informed that unless he consented to the "kow-tow" he would be sent out of the country forthwith, without having seen the Emperor. The Ambassador replied that he was willing to go, but would not submit to what was required.

On seeing that he was firm in his determination, the mandarins waived the question, and the party was escorted to the Yuen Ming Yuen Palace, where the Emperor was. They arrived in the early morning, hot and tired and travel-stained. Lord Amherst was informed that the Emperor would receive him immediately. Fatigued by the journey, and wearied by the interminable wrangling he had endured, he replied that he was unfit to attend the Emperor until he had rested and partaken of refreshment. The mandarins sought to persuade him to alter his purpose, without result. High words were exchanged, but to no purpose, and the Ambassador threw himself on a bench in search of rest. On this the mandarins returned to the Emperor and gave their version of Lord Amherst's attitude; and in obedience to Kiaking's command again sought the Ambassador and bade him enter the Imperial presence. The command had no effect, and Lord Amherst refused to move; whereupon the Duke Ho seized him by the arm and sought to lead him out. On this the Ambassador became angry and lost his temper, and pushing the Duke away he declared that no power on earth short of force should make him move.

The mandarins again returned to the Emperor, to whom they gave their report, which was doubtless not particularly favourable to the British Ambassador. Immediately afterwards they conveyed to him the message that the Emperor was greatly annoyed at his conduct and had ordered his immediate departure.

The precise details of this incident will probably never be known. Whether Lord Amherst's failure was due to his own action or whether he was purposely irritated by the mandarins with the object of securing the end arrived at it is impossible to say, but there is no doubt that Lord Amherst was very short with the Chinese, and the temper he displayed was unworthy of his high position.

The repulse of the second British embassy naturally encouraged the mandarins in their anti-foreign attitude. This rebuff was regarded as a triumph for the exclusive party, and its outcome was to be seen in the increased high-handedness of the officials towards the British settlers at Canton. The arrogance of the mandarins towards the merchants at this period was very great. In 1821 a boat belonging to a British warship was attacked and several of the crew wounded; nor could any redress be obtained at the hands of the officials. Foreigners were not allowed to trade with the natives without a licence, which was charged for at a prohibitive rate, and no women were allowed to land. Nor were the merchants permitted to reside at the scene of their labours; they were compelled to remain at Macao. In 1830 a species of agreement was arrived at under which residence was allowed to a certain number of merchants and their families at Canton, but they were not permitted to enter the city.

At this period the bulk of the Canton trade was in the hands of the East India Company, which had fitted out vessels for the China traffic shortly after the possibilities of the venture became known. The first Europeans who had landed in China had been struck by the large area of land which was devoted to the culture of the poppy, and the extensive manufacture of opium was manifest to every new arrival. The Chinese, with very few exceptions, smoked opium then, just as they do now, and the demand for the drug was large and increasing. Under these circumstances the East India Company sent a cargo of Indian opium to Canton, and the natives speedily showed their appreciation of the drug, which was purer and more skilfully prepared than the China product.

The trade in opium between the Chinese and the Europeans developed rapidly, much to the chagrin of the mandarins, who resented the presence of the foreigners and viewed anything which might tend to increase trade or bring about closer relations with grave displeasure.

In 1800 the Viceroy of Kwangtung, an avowed hater of foreigners, issued an edict forbidding the importation of Indian opium, his real object being to bring foreign trade to a close; and several of the powerful mandarins repeatedly protested against the traffic on the score of its being injurious, the real reason being that they were themselves cultivators of the poppy and that they desired to protect the sale of the Chinese drug by the exclusion of the foreign.

Thus was the trade with Canton carried out under many difficulties, and in 1834 the home Government decided not to renew the expiring charter under which the East India Company traded with China, in the hope that by thus encouraging private enterprise the existing difficulties in the way of trade might be overcome.

In order to allow of the supervision of our trade with Canton the Government decided to appoint a British Superintendent, whose duty should be to guard British interests and protect British traders in China. The person chosen for this important post was Lord Napier, who reached Canton shortly before the expiration of the Company's charter. He was instructed to foster British trade by every means in his power, to attempt to open up other trading centres in China, to seek to establish friendly relations with the Peking Government, and to arrive at an understanding with the Viceroy at Canton. The British Superintendent had therefore a task of considerable difficulty before him, and it must be confessed he was not particularly fortunate in his attempts to perform it.

Immediately on arriving at Canton Lord Napier announced his arrival to the Viceroy of the province in a letter he handed to one of the lesser mandarins, who forthwith refused to forward it; nor would the Chinese officials have any dealings with the British agent, who was handed an order forbidding him to enter the city and requiring his immediate return to Macao. The Chinese by their action showed that they regarded Lord Napier's arrival as an attempt to overcome their antagonism to foreign intercourse, and they evinced a strong disposition to take matters into their own hands with the object of ridding themselves of the hated Europeans. In their action the mandarins were supported by that ignorance which has always been on their side. They possessed not the slightest knowledge of the influence, wealth, and resources of a Power whose subjects they desired to expel from their shores. The various products of British ingenuity and manufacture which they had become acquainted with in the course of trade with us had not served to cause them to realise the superiority of our attainments; and, without suspecting that antagonistic action might bring about a series of reprisals which would cost them dear, the Chinese sought only an excuse on which to give the order for the driving of the "foreign devils" into the sea.

It is, of course, open to the moralist to argue that the Chinese, being an ancient and independent nation, had the absolute right to decide with whom they would hold intercourse, and that the British traders had no right to intrude their presence and force their wares on a protesting people. But one must look deeper than this in order to rightly gauge the situation. An increased trade, with the opening for the occupation of a surplus population, is a necessity vital to the existence of a great empire, and in opening up trade relations with the Chinese

England, besides carrying out a natural law, was benefiting the Celestials by introducing to them many products of civilisation of which they had hitherto remained in ignorance. Again, in their commerce with the Chinese the British sought no unjust privileges. They demanded no territory, and sought no interference with the native prejudices. All that was demanded was the right to trade in China, a right which should belong to the people of every nation in turn. The Chinese, on their side, disliked the Europeans because they spoke a different language, had a different complexion, and were not Chinese. Instigated by the mandarins, they insulted the foreigners at every opportunity, and their attempts to expel them from the country were only frustrated at the cost of war. Such being the situation in Canton in 1834, it is no wonder that events moved quickly and rapidly became acute. The large import of opium and other articles of foreign manufacture naturally caused a drain of silver from South China necessary to make up the balance between the value of the imports and exports. On realising this the mandarins expressed themselves greatly alarmed, and, realising that it would be futile to prohibit the export of silver, they decided to stay the continued import of foreign wares. Opium, being the most costly and most important import, was the article fixed on for protest. The Viceroy accordingly issued a mandate forbidding the import of opium under heavy penalties. A series of protests from Lord Napier were unavailing. Much friction occurred, and ended in the imposition of numerous fresh restrictions on European trade, which necessitated the closing of the river to British vessels and the withdrawal of all Chinese from British employ. On the passing of these measures the foreign community at Canton found their occupation gone. They accordingly retired from that city, and retreated to Macao, where Lord Napier died, it is said of disappointment and vexation, shortly after.

After an interval, the Chinese agreed to allow commerce to be renewed with the proviso that a Superintendent of Trade should not be imposed on them, and when Captain Elliot, who had been appointed to succeed Lord Napier, arrived at Macao he was compelled to solicit permission to reside at Canton. His request was granted on condition that he would be content with the status of harbour master, and that he would not require to be treated as a Government official. He was further notified that he would have to abide by any regulations which the mandarins might impose.

Immediately after the arrival of Captain

Elliot the Viceroy of Kwantung died, and he was succeeded by a certain Commissioner Lin Tsisoo, who was even more antagonistic to foreigners than his predecessor. Captain Elliot soon found his position to be intolerable. After a series of disputes with Lin, who treated him as an underling, he retired to Macao and sent a request home for the despatch of a fleet.

Late in 1838 a British squadron arrived in Chinese waters, and Captain Elliot, going on board the flagship, returned to Canton, off which the vessel anchored. He was promptly addressed in regard to the importation of opium, and in response to a demand from Commissioner Lin, issued a notice prohibiting British merchants from importing the drug into China. To make this notice effective he stated that he should refrain from interfering even if the Chinese were to seize any opium which arrived. This notification was followed by another from the Viceroy denouncing the opium traffic, and demanding that all chests in store should be delivered over to the Chinese authorities forthwith, in order that they might be destroyed.

In response a considerable number of chests were delivered to the Viceroy, who refused to be satisfied, and threatened to attack the foreign settlement unless the whole of the opium in Canton was handed over forthwith. This notification was supported by Captain Elliot, who ordered that the British merchants should deliver their stock of the drug to him. In the result over 20,000 chests were given over to the Superintendent, who passed them on to Commissioner Lin.

Encouraged by the success of his anti-foreign policy, the Viceroy issued an edict requiring that sixteen of the principal British merchants should be delivered over to him, in order that they might be punished for having imported opium into the country. On hearing of this Captain Elliot ordered the British colony to retire from Canton of Macao. The British factory was closed and abandoned, and a message sent home asking for more ships.

Meanwhile the Viceroy, overjoyed at the success of his tactics, lost no time in celebrating his victory by further insults. He sent a letter to the Queen, couched in most offensive terms, calling on her to stop the export of opium to China for evermore. This, as much as the report sent home by Captain Elliot, determined the Government to employ drastic measures in order to bring the Chinese to their senses. It was fully time. Lin, determined not to lose the ground he had gained, took measures to prevent supplies reaching the English at Macao; whereupon the colony retired to the uninhabited island of Hong Kong. Frequent fights took place between the Chinese and the British, in one of which a native was killed. Lin demanded the surrender of the sailor who had committed the act, which was promptly refused. A notice was thereupon issued calling on the Chinese to attack the British wherever found. The British vessels off Macao were repeatedly attacked, and an English merchant, venturing ashore unattended, was seized by the Chinese and imprisoned. Two men-of-war thereupon ascended the river and threatened to bombard the forts unless the prisoner was at once released. The Chinese, frightened at this prompt action, handed their prisoner over; but they sent a garbled account of the transaction to Peking, stating that there had been a hard fight and that the Chinese had beaten the English. The Emperor Taoukwang was greatly impressed by this, and ordered that "English trade should at once be put a stop to."

Matters then quieted down to a state of armed neutrality between the British and their tormentors, pending the arrival of the promised expedition, which was charged with the punishment of the Chinese and the arrangement of a *modus vivendi.* It arrived in June, 1840, consisting of fifteen men-of-war and twenty-five transports conveying a force of 4,000 troops. The arrival of this fleet served to produce another announcement from the Viceroy, who proclaimed a large reward for the capture of any Englishman and a sum of twenty thousand dollars for the capture or destruction of a British man-of-war.

The British fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir Gordon Bremer, thereupon blockaded the Canton river, while a squadron sailed north and occupied the island of Chusan. The Canton river forts were also bombarded and taken, and the Admiral then produced a letter written by Lord Palmerston which he was charged to have delivered into the hands of the Chinese Government. This he tendered to the various mandarins, all of whom refused to accept it. Efforts made to ensure its being forwarded at Amoy and Ningpo met with the same result. The mandarins had been forbidden to hold intercourse with the English, and they obeyed the order to the letter.

Unable to get rid of his missive, Sir Gordon Bremer decided to deliver it himself, and he sailed northwards to the mouth of the Peiho, where he was met by a mandarin sent to discover what he wanted. The mandarin duly accepted the letter, which he undertook to deliver into the Emperor's hands, and, deeply impressed by the presence of the British fleet, he provided it with supplies. Things thus began to assume a more satisfactory appearance; but Captain Elliot, who accompanied the fleet as political agent, showed great weakness in being imposed on by the protests of the mandarin, who persuaded him that an agreement for a friendly settlement could be more satisfactorily arrived at at Canton than would be possible at Peking. Captain Elliot accordingly ordered the fleet to return to Canton, without having achieved anything beyond giving the Peking authorities a momentary fright. Had he persisted in visiting the capital there is little doubt but that an agreement might have been negotiated which would have tended to benefit the British traders materially. By returning southwards the alarm raised at the capital was allayed, and Chinese arrogance asserted itself once again. The departure of the British fleet from Taku was the signal for further antagonism on the part of the Chinese. Commissioner Lin was recalled in disgrace as a punishment for having failed to dispose of the British at Canton. A high mandarin named Keshen was appointed to succeed him, and he lost no time in issuing proclamations encouraging the Chinese to insult and annoy the English at every opportunity.

Recognising that the only way of arriving at a *modus vivendi* with the Chinese was to treat them with a high hand, Captain Elliot gave orders for an attack to be made on the Bogue forts. Captain Thomas Herbert thereupon bombarded the batteries on the 7th January, 1841, and occupied them with marked results. Keshen sued for peace, and offered all sorts of concessions. He was prepared to pay a large indemnity, to cede the island of Hong Kong, to hold personal communication with the British in the future, and to permit the foreigners to deal direct with the central Government. Hong Kong was proclaimed a British possession on the 26th January, 1841, and things looked encouraging. But, with the native insincerity of the Chinese, Keshen was not really repentant; he sought only to temporise while preparing further action against the foreigner. Within a few days of his friendly overtures he received an edict from Peking thoroughly in accord with his predilections. He was instructed to "destroy the foreigners without remorse." He was further ordered to seize the leaders of the invaders and send them to Peking, in order that they might be caged and exhibited to the people there.

In response to these orders Keshen replied that it would rejoice him to obey, but that the Chinese forces at his disposal were insufficient for the task. This confession entailed his recall and disgrace; and he was replaced by a mandarin named Eleang, who promptly refused to ratify the undertakings given by his predecessor, and declined to hold converse with the British representative.

Whereupon Sir Hugh Gough, who had just arrived in China, came upon the scene and hastened to bring the Chinese to their senses. He advanced on the forts surrounding Canton and carried them, capturing two hundred heavy guns in the operation. In a very short space of time every Chinese port along the river was taken. The Chinese thereupon begged for an armistice, and this was conceded while the mandarins reviewed their position. They realised the hopelessness of their attempting to resist the British troops; but they also knew that Taoukwang, ignorant of the resources of the invaders, would not consent to negotiations with the barbarians. They accordingly decided to treat the English with continued contempt.

As soon as the attitude of the Chinese was understood an advance was made on Canton, which was taken without loss. On the news of this catastrophe reaching Peking, Eleang was recalled, degraded, and sentenced to execution, the penalty being subsequently remitted in favour of exile. The English thereupon returned to Canton and reoccupied the deserted factories; and the Chinese, realising for the first time the strength of their visitors, resumed commerce with them with every outward symptom of good will.

The mandarins, however, dared not report the real facts to the authorities at Peking, and the Emperor Taoukwang continued to vent his ire on the insolent barbarians. He gave orders that no intercourse should be held with them, and issued a decree awarding the penalty of death to anyone who trafficked with the English. These measures had an immediate effect; Captain Elliot was publicly insulted in Canton. He at once issued a notice requiring all foreigners to withdraw, and this was done just as the Chinese opened fire on the British vessels in the river. Sir Hugh Gough then advanced on the city and destroyed the native shipping, including a number of war junks; while the Chinese sacked the British settlement.

Realising that it was absolutely necessary to teach the Chinese a lesson, Sir Hugh Gough commenced operations in earnest. He advanced with the entire force and attacked Canton, which was defended by thousands of natives, who had placed guns on all points of vantage. The British force, two thousand strong, effected a landing without loss, and speedily carried the enemy's position, putting them to flight at a cost of seventy lives, while the Chinese lost several hundred. Canton thus lay at the mercy of the foreigners, and the mandarins again changed their tactics, and offered to make any concessions required. Captain Elliot accepted the undertaking, and ordered a cessation of hostilities just as Sir Hugh Gough was about to assault the city. The terms agreed on were that the Chinese should pay a fine of six million dollars, and that the British troops should be withdrawn to a distance of not less than sixty miles from Canton. Thus the wily mandarins attained their object in preventing the British from entering the city at a cost which was ridiculously inadequate for the offences committed. It is only fair to add that, while Captain Elliot was thus easily hoodwinked, the military commander appreciated the situation at its true value, and protested that the Chinese would never behave themselves until by the occupation of Canton we had convinced them of the futility of opposing the presence of foreigners in their vicinity.

Captain Elliot thought otherwise, and the indemnity having been paid the British were withdrawn, leaving the Chinese masters of the situation. It was at this juncture that Sir Henry Pottinger, who had been nominated to succeed Captain Elliot as Plenipotentiary in China, arrived at Canton. He brought with him instructions to obtain, if possible, an interview with the Government and arrange friendly relations between the Courts of Peking and London.

On learning particulars of the attitude of the Chinese, Sir Henry Pottinger set sail from Canton in August, 1841, with a strong body of troops. He made for the city of Amoy, which he attacked and captured after a brief resistance. This procedure was, to say the least, curious, since we were at the time at peace with China, and had only just arrived at an understanding for the resumption of commercial relations. With the people of Amoy we had no quarrel whatever. Yet we attacked them without notice, and occupied a city where we possessed neither commercial nor political interests.

The defence offered by the Chinese on this occasion appears to have been remarkable, as evidenced by the reports of several of the British officers present.* "The batteries were admirably constructed," writes one, "and manned by Europeans no force could have stood before them." "Let the Chinese be trained and well found with European implements, and depend upon it they will prove themselves no contemptible foe." Another witness says, "The batteries were never completely silenced by the ships' guns, and it is believed they never would have been." The place was actually taken by a landing party, which attacked the forts in the rear while the ships were keeping the attention of the defenders from the sea. As the British clambered into the forts the Chinese fled, but their officers stood their ground and took their own lives, as our men approached with the object of making them prisoners.

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* Quoted in Boulger's "History of China," p. 221.

Notwithstanding the fall of Amoy, the mandarins refused to hold communication with the British. All that could therefore be done was to station a small garrison on the island of Kulangsu, commanding the city, and Sir Henry Pottinger then continued his progress northward. The island of Chusan was occupied for a second time. Ningpo was next attacked and taken without resistance, the people remaining indoors and notifying their submission by notices posted all over the town.

Thus in a remarkably short space of time the British found themselves in possession of three important points along the Chinese coast line, and they naturally expected that the success of their drastic action would humble the Chinese and result in the opening of negotiations by the central Government at Peking. But this expectation was doomed to disappointment. The Peking authorities did nothing. Taoukwang's only action was to degrade various officials and replace them by others charged with the repulse of the invaders.

The outbreak of the Afghan War at this

period prevented the arrival of the reinforcements requisite for the continuation of Sir Henry Pottinger's plans. An enforced rest was thus necessitated, and for a series of months the British troops remained at Ningpo idle. This cessation of hostilities served to encourage the Chinese, and in March, 1842, they attempted to retake Ningpo. The British were surprised by some 1,200 Chinese braves, who fell upon them without warning. Sir Hugh Gough speedily placed himself at the head of his men, and succeeded in driving the natives off with considerable loss.

It was at this juncture that the British Government sent out fresh instructions to Sir Henry Pottinger. He was ordered to cease his attacks on the Chinese coast line, and make for the capital, where, it was urged, a display of force would speedily bring the Government to its senses. A fresh body of troops was sent out to strengthen the British force, and Sir Henry, thus reinforced, sailed northwards and entered the Yangtse Kiang, with the object of creating an advanced base on his extended line of advance. Woosung was seized without difficulty. Shanghai fell into the hands of the British without fighting, owing to the flight of the inhabitants. Chinkiang, after desperate fighting, was entered with a loss of forty killed and 130 wounded, and occupied; and Nanking surrounded, as a preliminary to its capture by assault. The prospect of seeing the ancient capital of China fall into the hands of the barbarians was too much even for the arrogance of the Chinese. Taoukwang sent instructions for negotiations to be opened, and the British force settled down on the banks of the Yangtse Kiang while one Elepoo, a high-class mandarin specially despatched for the purpose from Peking, held parley with Sir Henry Pottinger with a view to arriving at an understanding for the resumption of friendly relations.

Sir Henry Pottinger thereupon placed before him a series of demands which would alone justify him in abandoning hostilities. They included the appointing of a high official with authority to negotiate and conclude a treaty between China and Great Britain; the compensation of all British subjects who had suffered loss from the action of the Chinese; the proclamation of friendly relations on terms of equality between China and Great Britain; and the cession of territory for the accommodation of British merchants.

In response to these demands a Commission consisting of three high mandarins was appointed, charged with the conduct of negotiations, and after numerous conferences a treaty was eventually drawn up embodying all the points required, which was duly signed by the Chinese Commissioners and Sir Henry Pottinger on board the British ship *Cornwallis,* off Nanking, on the 29th August, 1842. The treaty was speedily ratified by the Emperor Taoukwang, who appeared to realise the necessity for cultivating a *modus vivendi* with the irrepressible "barbarians"; and thus was obtained the first convention between Great Britain and the Celestial Empire, recognising the inalienable right of the former to send her subjects to reside and trade in China under such protection as is usually accorded by one civilised Power to the subject of another.

The principal provisions of the Treaty of Nanking were as follow: The opening of Canton, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai to British trade; the cession of the island of Hong Kong in perpetuity to Great Britain; the payment of an indemnity of six million dollars in recompense for the opium destroyed by Commissioner Lin; the payment of a further sum of three million dollars in settlement of debts due to British merchants from Chinese traders; the payment of twelve million dollars in discharge of the cost of the operations necessitated by the unfriendly attitude of the Chinese; the publication of an amnesty throughout China; the opening of communication between the British and Chinese Government authorities on subjects of common interest.

It is to be noted that several points of first importance were omitted from this treaty. Nothing was said with regard to direct communication between the respective Governments, the right to station a British Minister at Peking, or that of obtaining an audience at the hands of the Emperor. Nor was any mention made of the right of travel in the interior; these matters being allowed to remain unsettled until the negotiation of the Treaty of Tientsin sixteen years later.

While Great Britain had thus been forcing herself on China, Russia had commenced that forward movement which she has continued without intermission for upwards of four centuries, by dint of which she has gradually brought the whole of Northern and most of Central Asia under her dominion. Commencing with the conquest of Western Siberia in 1580, Russian exploiters rapidly ventured further and further afield, founding settlements and building towers as they went, until by the beginning of the seventeenth century the whole of Siberia and the maritime borders of the Sea of Okhotsk came under the sway of the Tsar. After annexing the territory previously held by the nomadic tribes who form the aborigines of these regions, the Russians, yet unsatisfied in their craving land hunger, crossed the Amur river and entered Chinese territory. The venture was a simple one. The two empires are contiguous for some four thousand miles, and the common frontier is destitute of any well-marked line of demarcation.

The invasion of China by Russian freebooters greatly angered the Celestials, who promptly sent an army to repel the unwelcome intruders, with the result that on the 27th August, 1689, was signed the Treaty of Nerchinsk, in which Russia undertook to withdraw from Chinese soil and never again to attempt to enlarge her territories in North-eastern Asia.

After the signing of the Treaty of Nerchinsk the Russians sought to open friendly relations with the Court of Peking with varying success, and several missions were sent from St. Petersburg to attempt to achieve this object, though without success. Meanwhile, Russia continued her efforts to absorb the whole of Asia—Kamchatka was seized in 1707—and made repeated efforts to arrive at an understanding with the Chinese Emperor without obtaining anything more than polite rebuffs.

The signing of the Treaty of Nanking

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therefore gave this country considerable advantage over other nations in regard to its relations with China, and the year 1843 saw Great Britain trading under privileges which no others had been able to obtain. The only intercourse existing at this period between China and other foreign states was that carried on by a small Dutch colony at Macao, and an occasional exchange of tea and silk for Russian produce finding its way to Peking in caravans, whose presence was rendered possible by the payment of heavy bribes to the mandarin.

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Thus may we take the signing of the Treaty of Nanking as the incident which marks the real start of European relations with China, and from it may be said to date the chain of events which, after attracting for many years the attention of the great Powers, has culminated in the present *débâcle*. It remains to deal with the sequence of events which have led up to this crisis, and I propose to attempt this in a fresh chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADVENT OF THE POWERS.

The operation of the Treaty of Nanking served for a time to render intercourse between the foreign merchants and the native traders more harmonious. The mandarins, profiting by the lessons they had been taught, refrained from persecuting the Europeans, nor did they meddle with their trade, beyond levying various unjust imports and seeking to enrich themselves by the exaction of bribes. The period immediately following the arrival of the British at the ancient capital of China was a stormy one. In 1842 a rebellion broke out in Kashgar, which caused the Chinese many years of labour to suppress, and the Taeping rising, which started in South China in 1850, and plunged nearly one-half of China in civil war for fifteen years, served, for a time at least, to divert the attention of the people from the incubus of the hated "foreign devils" among them.

Soon after the signing of the treaty it was decided to despatch consuls to the newly opened treaty ports, for the purpose of protecting British trade and looking after British interests. The step was resented by the natives at Canton, always a turbulent lot, and in 1846 a riot broke out, which was with difficulty quelled. In the following year a more serious outbreak occurred, in which a number of Englishmen were attacked, many of whom only barely escaped with their lives.

Whereupon Sir John Davis, who had succeeded Sir Henry Pottinger, determined to give the Celestials a lesson. On the 3rd of April he started with two regiments from Hong Kong, and having effected a landing at the entrance to the Canton river took possession of the batteries there, and then went up river and repeated the performance on the forts off the city. Having possessed himself of these points of 'vantage, he demanded that Canton should forthwith be thrown open to foreigners, and that they should be permitted to go about the country without interference.

Keying, the chief mandarin, immediately assented to these conditions, and Sir John Davis, satisfied at the success of his efforts, withdrew to Hong Kong, with a pledge that the city should be opened to Europeans on the 6th of April the following year. How it came about that the British Plenipotentiary was content to wait a year for the required concession is not known, but he appears to have returned to Hong Kong well satisfied with the result of his operations. It does not appear to have dawned upon him that the Chinese are only amenable to fear, and that, while they are ready to agree to any terms when they find themselves hard pressed, they invariably repudiate such pledges as they have given as soon as the threatened punishment is obviated. Such is nevertheless the case, and the principle might with advantage be studied by some of the statesmen to-day concerned in the conduct of negotiations with the Chinese.

The arrival of the appointed time saw no preparations for the opening of Canton. Approached on the subject, the mandarins replied that owing to the temper of the native population they would not dare permit foreigners to enter the city, for fear they might be attacked. Every possible reason and many excuses were offered, but it was manifest that the officials were determined not to carry out their undertaking of the year before. Sir John Davis had retired. His successor, Sir John Bowring, had come out instructed to avoid further trouble with the Chinese, and the question arose, How was the situation to be dealt with? Possessing some knowledge of the Chinese character, he was of opinion that the only chance of maintaining an understanding with the people was by dint of an exhibition of readiness to repeat the lessons of the past year at the least provocation. He embodied this view in a report he sent home, which was replied to by Lord Malmesbury, who sent definite instructions that "all irritating discussions with the Chinese should be avoided, and the existing good understanding in no way imperilled."

The Viceroy of Kwangtung at this period was one Yeh, and to him Sir John Bowring wrote asking for an appointment, in order that the situation might be discussed and a means of arranging the existing difficulties arrived at. The Viceroy returned a vague answer, in which he expressed his inability to grant an interview. The British Plenipotentiary thereupon sent his private secretary to endeavour to interview Yeh and arrange for a formal meeting. He failed to obtain access to the great man, and returned with a verbal message stating that Yeh refused to be bound by Keying's pledges to open Canton to the British. All that the Viceroy offered was to accord an interview to the British officer at a warehouse outside the city walls. To this Sir John Bowring replied that he could not consent to meet the Viceroy elsewhere than within the city of Canton; to which Yeh replied that "as his offer had been declined, he assumed that Sir

John Bowring had changed his mind and no longer desired an interview."

On receiving this message Sir John proceeded to Shanghai, in the hope of being able to come to an understanding with the mandarin there, but that personage refused to have dealings with him on the ground that Yeh had been specially appointed to deal with the foreigners at Canton, and matters must remain in his hands.

And so the Chinese continued their tactics of delay and evasion, and Sir John Bowring remained helpless at Hong Kong. Matters came to a crisis in 1856.

On the 8th October of that year a lorcha, a species of sailing-boat, named the *Arrow*, which plied between Hong Kong and Canton, belonging to a British owner, commanded by a British captain, and sailing under the British flag, was boarded by a party of mandarins while at anchor in the Canton river. The flag was hauled down, and the crew carried off to prison. On hearing of this indignity Mr. Parkes, the British Consul, sent a protest, addressed to Yeh, demanding that the crew of the *Arrow* should be at once released, and that any charges urged against them should be brought before him in his consular jurisdiction. Yeh sent a reply justifying the seizure of the vessel. He released nine of the twelve men seized, and declared that as one was a well-known criminal, and the others his abettors, they would be detained till further notice. He made no attempt to justify the breach of international law comprised in the insult to the British flag, and refused to discuss the circumstances under which the *Arrow* had been impounded.

This high-handed action rendered reprisal imperative. Sir John Bowring communicated with Sir Michael Seymour, who was in command of the China Squadron, and he sailed up the river and, after dismantling the forts, anchored off Canton. An ultimatum was then sent to Yeh, notifying that unless he at once released the prisoners the public buildings, defences, and ships at Canton would be destroyed.

To this message Yeh made no reply, whereupon the Canton forts were seized, and the battleships placed so as to bring their guns to bear upon the city. Yeh's only answer was the issue of a manifesto calling on the Cantonese to resist the foreigners, and offering a reward of thirty dollars for every Englishman killed.

Sir Michael Seymour then began to bombard the city. The wall was soon breached and entered. The forts were destroyed, and a large number of war junks burned and sunk. On the 12th November four hundred guns were captured.

The Chinese appeared in no way discouraged by these events. A few British who had become separated from their companions were seized, and their heads, after being cut off, paraded through the streets of Canton. The defence made was maintained with unabated vigour, and Sir Michael Seymour realised the necessity of obtaining reinforcements. He accordingly sent home for 5,000 men, while the Chinese exercised their ingenuity for means to destroy their enemies. An attempt was made to poison the whole of the population of Hong Kong by putting arsenic in the bread, but this was fortunately discovered.

The temporary cessation of hostilities during the wait for reinforcements served to encourage the Chinese in their resistance. Yeh took means to spread highly coloured reports of numerous victories throughout the country, and insisted on his ability to rid China for ever of the presence of the hated foreign devils. The bitterness thus imported into the struggle served to make the British all the more determined, and to gain them the sympathy and support of the French and American traders who had relations with Hong Kong.

The application for reinforcements was replied to by the despatch of 1,500 men from England and a number of men from the Madras Army. These were placed at the disposal of Lord Elgin, who was appointed Commissioner to deal with the Chinese Government, and he sailed from London early in 1857. Unfortunately the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny rendered the delay of the troops sent imperative, and it was not until the middle of September that the force arrived at Hong Kong.

Lord Elgin's instructions were extremely clear. He was directed to demand reparation for injuries to British subjects; the carrying out of the clauses of the Treaty of Nanking; compensation for losses incurred by the merchants at Canton; the consent of the Chinese Government to the stationing of a British Ambassador at Peking; the revision of the Nanking Treaty with a view to encouraging the growth of trade, and the granting of access to Chinese cities, and the providing of facilities for British vessels to visit and trade with the chief ports of China.

Before setting about the attainment of this portion of his mission Lord Elgin decided to deal with the trouble existing at Canton. He accordingly invested that city, which, after a feeble resistance, capitulated. A last attempt was then made to bring Yeh to reason, without success. The mandarin remained unapproachable and contemptuous to the end. The city was accordingly occupied, Yeh captured and sent to Calcutta on board a man-of-war, and Canton placed under the rule of one Pihkwei, aided by a Commission consisting of one Frenchman and two Englishmen.

Having restored order at Canton, and made that place possible to the continued conduct of French and English commerce, Lord Elgin turned his attention to the more important portion of his programme. His efforts to bring about an understanding with China were supported by Baron Gros, in diplomatic charge of French interests, who announced his intention of co-operating with Lord Elgin, and the allied fleets sailed northwards to the entrance of the Peiho, where they arrived towards the end of May, 1858.

On reaching the Taku forts the allied fleets summoned their commander to surrender. Receiving no reply to this demand, the ships bombarded the forts at short range, with the result that the Chinese garrison evacuated them and fled. The forts were then occupied by the Allies, while the fleets proceeded up river as far as Tientsin, where Lord Elgin and Baron Gros took up their quarters in the city.

The ease with which the Allies forced their way up the river, and the calmness with which they entered Tientsin, which had never been occupied by a foreign force before, served to impress the Celestials deeply. The people comported themselves civilly, and the news of the Allies' success produced an immense sensation at Peking, where the Emperor Hienfung was horror-stricken at the failure of his forces to disperse the impudent "foreign devils." The Chinese were at this period as ignorant of Europeans as were they of the Chinese, and, having no appreciation of the immensely superior forces in the hands of the invaders, the Celestials gave vent to their indignation in no measured terms at the impudence exhibited in forcing themselves on their country. But the Chinaman is no good at fighting an uphill battle. He is easily cowed, and when worsted seeks to regain his position by cunning rather than by arms; and finding the Allies in possession of the country, notwithstanding all efforts to repulse them, the people accepted the situation awhile, and the officials were instructed to temporise.

Two high mandarins were accordingly sent to negotiate with Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. They arrived charged with the task of getting rid of the invaders forthwith. The method chosen in order to attain this end was to agree to everything the European leaders asked and grant their demands, so as to ensure their prompt departure, reserving the right of subsequently refusing to keep the pledges given. This policy has been repeatedly practised by the Chinese in their dealings with Europeans. Their arrogance and conceit are such that they will make any concessions which may serve to rid them of the presence of the hated foreigner, and in the negotiations conducted at Tientsin in 1858 the Mandarins Kweilyang and Hwashana conceded everything asked with the air of men who positively welcomed the presence of the foreigners they really hated.

Thus was the famous Treaty of Tientsin negotiated, a covenant agreed to by the Chinese merely as a subterfuge to attain a desired end. It forms the *magna charta* of foreign rights in China, and, if it is ever enforced to the full, will entail the opening of that vast country to foreign residence and trade. It was signed on 26th June.

The most important provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin are as follow: The sending of ambassadors and diplomatic agents to Peking; the right of Europeans to trade in the country; the right of British subjects to travel in all parts of China; the payment of the cost of the war by the Chinese; the revision of the tariff; and the opening of Chanchow, Kiungchow, Newchang, Taiwan, Tungchow, Chinkiang, and Hankow to foreign trade, in addition to the ports already opened under the Treaty of

Nanking. Besides these provisions, the treaty contains an undertaking that they will not in future use the word "barbarian" in reference to British or European subjects trading in the country.

The question of appointing an ambassador to reside at Peking produced much discussion; and, though the point was conceded, the mandarins begged that the appointment should be deferred awhile in order that the necessary preparations for so novel a departure might be made. To this representation Lord Elgin agreed, and the question was allowed to stand over until the treaty should be ratified twelve months later.

A similar treaty to that concluded with Great Britain was arranged with Baron Gros on behalf of France; and the Allies, very foolishly, thereupon bid farewell to the courtly mandarins, and returned to the sea, well contented with the apparent success of their venture.

But they reckoned without their host. The readiness of the Chinese to agree to the demands made had been due, not to any wish to arrive at a friendly understanding with the "barbarians," but to a desire to get rid of them; and as soon as this object had been attained the Celestials set about making preparations for the further discomfiture of the foreigners. Hundreds of workmen were sent to rearm the forts at the entrance of the Peiho. New defences were constructed with the object of preventing access to the river. Secret instructions were sent to the mandarins at Canton, and these speedily resulted in the publication of a fresh series of edicts bidding defiance to foreigners and encouraging the natives to insult and annoy them at every opportunity. The lot of the Europeans at Canton thus became worse than before, and the example set in the capital of Kwangtung was imitated at the various treaty ports. Thus matters continued until March, 1859, when Mr. Frederick Bruce, who was charged with visiting Peking for the purpose of exchanging ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin, as agreed, sailed from Hong Kong for the Peiho river. He was preceded by a flotilla in command of Admiral Hope, which arrived at the Taku forts on the 17th June.

Admiral Hope found that the Chinese had spared no pains in rendering the navigation of the river impossible. The entrance to the river was closed by a row of stakes, beyond which a heavy boom had been constructed, and on a boat being sent ashore with an officer charged with interviewing the natives he was peremptorily forbidden to land.

The Admiral had therefore no option but to employ force. On the 25th June he proceeded to remove the iron stakes which impeded the entrance. This having been successfully accomplished, he moved his ships up to the boom, and as soon as he did so he found himself under a hail of shot and shell from the forts. Two gunboats were sunk, many were damaged, and an attempt made to take the forts by a landing party failed with the loss of more than 300 men. Finding himself unable to cope with the superior strength of the Chinese, Admiral Hope was compelled to retire, and he returned to Shanghai, intercepting Mr. Bruce on the way, to report events and obtain reinforcements.

The Chinese were thus left masters of the situation. They had already forgotten the lesson of the previous year, and their bearing towards the foreigners became more and more arbitrary. The situation was, indeed, most strained, and it was evident that unless the Europeans were prepared to acknowledge their defeat and retire from the country, strong and prompt measures would have to be taken.

A joint course was accordingly agreed on by the French and English forces in China, which were strongly reinforced by troops from Europe. Acting on instructions from home, Mr. Bruce presented an ultimatum to the Chinese, demanding a full apology, the payment of a large indemnity, and the immediate ratification of the Tientsin Treaty. These demands were promptly refused, and preparations were hastened for enforcing them:

British and native troops were despatched from India; French troops came from France. The British force numbered some 13,000 men, under Sir Hope Grant; while the French, under General Montauban, included 6,000.

Arriving at Hong Kong in March, 1860, Sir Hope Grant occupied Kowloon Peninsula and Stonecutter Island, opposite Hong Kong, as well as Chusan Island, near Ningpo, to serve as an advanced base and depôt during the advance. The expedition sailed two months later, and arrived in the Gulf of Pechili at the beginning of July. The forts at Taku had meanwhile been further strengthened by the Chinese, and the entrance to the river was closed by a more formidable series of barriers than before. It was therefore decided that, instead of attacking the forts from the river front, a landing should be attempted at Pehtang, a village a few miles to the north, whence, owing to the trend of the coast line, it would be possible to march on the rear of the Taku defences. This plan worked well. The Chinese had not contemplated any other than an attack by water, and the village of Pehtang was entirely undefended.

The place was attacked and taken without the loss of a single life, and the troops then landed and set out on their way to Taku overland. The advance was rendered difficult by the nature of the ground, which was little better than a swamp. The men frequently sunk up to their hips in the mud; roads there were none, and progress was exceedingly slow. At last, however, the rear of the Taku forts was reached. The guns, which had been dragged up with the greatest difficulty, were brought to bear on the mud walls, and then, after a vigorous bombardment, a rush was made, and the Chinese fled as the Allies occupied their stronghold. Over 600 cannon were found in and around the forts.

As soon as the forts had been occupied the fleet entered the river and anchored off Taku, while the soldiers surveyed their capture and buried the dead. The native garrison in the forts was said to consist of 500 men, of whom 400 were killed. The losses among the Allies were comparatively slight; the English lost twenty-two killed and 179 wounded, the French rather more.

The capture of the Taku forts opened the route to Peking, and the Allies lost no time in profiting by their opportunity. All the gunboats capable of navigating the shallow river advanced on Tientsin, fifty miles above Taku, while the troops covered the shorter distance to the same place by road. By the 26th August the whole force had established itself at Tientsin, where the natives evinced a friendly disposition towards the invaders and commenced to trade with them freely. The attitude of the mandarins was also friendly, and the appointment of Kweilyang, who had negotiated the treaty, to meet the Ambassador and carry out its ratification was regarded as a good augury for a final settlement.

At an early interview with Lord Elgin Kweilyang informed him that he had power to ratify the treaty, and that any further action on the part of the Allies was unnecessary. To this the British Ambassador replied that three conditions would have to be fulfilled before peace would be possible. These were a full apology for the attack on the British flag at Taku, the payment of an indemnity to defray the cost of the operations entailed, and the unconditional ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin within the precincts of the Emperor's palace at Peking. The Chinese agent replied that there would be no objection to the acceptance of the first two conditions, but he made a strong protest against the entry of the Allies into Peking,* and by doing so gave the keynote to the Chinese character.

As I have said already, the most strongly marked of all Chinese characteristics are their conceit and arrogance. Nothing is so sacred to them as the sense of superiority which has for centuries been assiduously cultivated in the Chinese mind. Surrounded by nomads and tribes of inferior civilisation to their own, they long since came to regard themselves as the most enlightened race on earth, and, ignorant of the existence of Western civilisation, they arrogate to themselves the lead in mundane affairs. This has been the way with the Chinese throughout their whole history—with the Mongol rulers of the fourteenth century, hardly less than with the Manchus of to-day. Nothing will bring these people to a sense of their inferiority but defeat, and when this has been inflicted on them they are willing to pay any price in order to avert the necessity of humbling themselves and admitting their disadvantage. This characteristic has been displayed on every occasion, without exception, when the Chinese have found themselves in conflict with foreign Powers.

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* Peking is 104 miles from Taku by road, and 151 by water. The distances are as follow:—

From Taku to Tientsin, 30 miles by land, 50 miles by water.
„ Tientsin to Tungchow, 63 „ „ 90 „ „
„ Tungchow to Peking, 11 „ „ 11 „ „

When the Allies appeared off the Taku forts the Celestials felt confident of their ability to repulse them. As soon as the foreigners had forced the entrance to the Peiho, the Chinese changed their tone, and expressed their readiness to pay the cost entailed and make terms to obviate further advances. Any sacrifice would have been made to prevent the humbling of the Chinese throne, no price would have been thought too great in order to obviate the entry into the sacred city of Peking by the Allies. But when the Celestials realised that the invaders were insistent, and that they refused absolutely to treat with them except at Peking, their conceit came to their aid, and they determined once more to defy the Allies and risk a further penalty rather than submit to have their pride wounded by submission to a triumphant entry into the Celestial capital. As will be seen later on, the situation in 1859 was very similar to that which existed a few weeks ago. The misdeeds which had provoked the foreigners were admitted, yet the Chinese stopped at no subterfuge which might prevent the defiling of their capital by the presence of the hated foreigner.

The notification that the Allies insisted on the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin taking place in Peking served to encourage the Chinese to further resistance. The price demanded was in their estimate too high, even for purchasing the departure of the "barbarians," and the bitterness of the insult suggested by the proposed course served to rally their courage and strengthen their self-reliance. The first course in every act of Chinese diplomacy is to procrastinate, and this the Celestials proceeded to do with the thoroughness bred of long experience.

Every possible argument was brought to bear on the allied generals with the object of dissuading them from advancing beyond Tientsin. Daily conferences were held between the mandarins and Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. Hours were wasted in talk, and demands for action replied to with barren compliment. The Chinese were desirous of gaining time while more troops were brought up from Manchuria and the interior provinces; but the experience of Sir Harry Parkes, who accompanied the expedition, exposed these methods, and after wasting some three weeks in useless interviews Lord Elgin decided to continue his advance on Peking forthwith, and on the 8th September he left Tientsin with 1,500 men under Sir

Hope Grant. The following day this force was strengthened by a second contingent, and continued towards the capital without resistance until it reached a place called Chan-chia-wan, where it found a large Chinese army waiting to oppose its advance. The defenders were under the command of the Chinese commander-in-chief, one Sankolinsin, whose troops were reputed the best in China.

At this juncture Lord Elgin decided to hold a parley with the Chinese before proceeding to extremities. A small party, consisting of Mr. Parkes, Mr. Henry Loch, Mr. De Norman, Mr. Bowlby, correspondent of *The Times*, Mr. Anderson, and a guard of dragoons and sowars, rode out to the Chinese headquarters at Tungchow, and after being received in a manner which has been described as offensive, were dismissed with a request to return the next day. Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and three others thereupon returned to the Allies' camp, while Mr. De Norman, Mr. Anderson, and the rest remained at Tungchow for the night.

On reaching the neighbourhood of Chan-chia-wan the returning diplomatists were astonished to find the Chinese army in a great state of activity. It was evidently preparing to give battle to the Allies, who, relying on the sanctity of the peace negotiations in progress, were unprepared for an emergency. Mr. Parkes thereupon ordered Mr. Loch to ride on and inform Sir Hope Grant of the course of events, while he himself rode back to Tungchow to remonstrate with the Chinese general on the course which was being followed.

He found his colleagues unaware of impending danger. Most of them were out in the town sightseeing. On reaching Sankolinsin's headquarters he demanded an explanation of the meaning of the army's activity while negotiations were in progress. To this Sankolinsin replied that negotiation was futile, and that there must be war. Mr. Parkes, finding his efforts useless, next sought to obtain a safe retirement for the seven Englishmen who had accompanied him to Tungchow. The party rode out of the town without interference. They passed through crowds of natives, and forged ahead until they heard sounds of firing and realised that the armies were engaged. Their only hope was to find a way through the Chinese lines and so reach the allied forces, but to do this was both dangerous and difficult. There was, however, no other course. Hoisting a white flag of truce, Parkes lead the party over the rough ground until close on the fringe of the Chinese. He was permitted to go no further. A party of Manchu soldiers surrounded the little company, and, after threatening to shoot them then and there, conveyed them to the presence of the general.

All this time the fighting was proceeding, and the falling back of the Chinese showed that they were being worsted. On the prisoners being brought before him Sankolinsin ordered them to be conveyed forthwith to Peking, and they were bound and placed in carts and taken to the capital, where they were lost sight of, some never to be seen again.

The battle of Chan-chia-wan proved an easy victory for the Allies. As soon as the Chinese began to realise the superiority of their opponents they fled, and no efforts of their leaders sufficed to persuade them to make another stand. Two days later, however, the French, who were leading in the continued march on Peking, found themselves opposed by a large force of Chinese, congregated at the bridge which crosses the river at a place known as Palikao, west of Tungchow. Here, after a brief encounter, the Chinese were scattered, and the Allies, after capturing the bridge and surrounding country, found themselves in command of the road which leads to Peking.

The news of the triumphant approach of the invading army spread consternation in the Celestial capital. The event was indeed sensational. With a history extending over upwards of three thousand years—for the original forerunner of the city of Cambaluc, the capital of the state of Yen, dates back from the twelfth century before the Christian era—Peking had never been entered by a European, save the early mediæval travellers Marco Polo and d'Andrade, who came as the *protégés* of the Emperors Kublai Khan and Woutsong, in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1859 the Celestial city stood threatened by an invading host of "barbarians," whom the Chinese had ever flouted and regarded with the utmost contempt. It was a severe blow to the Celestial pride, and the mandarins became so horrified at the situation that they forgot their dignity, and many scampered off, too intent on their own salvation to remain and seek to lend a hand at the defence of the city which to them was sacred. The Emperor Hienfung, as soon as he learned of the arrival of the Allies at Tungchow, fled to his palace at Jehol, beyond the Great Wall; and thus Peking was left at the mercy of the invaders, who approached round the north-west wall and made for the Yuen Ming Yuen, or Emperor's summer palace, some ~~three~~ miles [illegible] outside the city. They found the Emperor gone, his departure having been evidently made in great haste, as was evident by the condition of the magnificent halls entered by the troops. The French were the first to enter the palace, which they looted, and thus completed the triumph of the invaders by occupying the most sacred spot in the vicinity of the most sacred city in the Celestial Empire.

The course followed by the Allies so horrified the remaining mandarins as to bring them to their senses and make them eager to come to terms. Prince Kung, as nearest representative of the fugitive Emperor, approached Lord Elgin and announced his readiness to acquiesce in his demands, and he agreed to surrender the Englishmen who had been taken prisoners, which the British Ambassador had required under penalty of an occupation of the city of Peking and a sack of the city.

On the 8th October the prisoners in the hands of the Chinese were returned to Lord Elgin. They were Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and a Sikh trooper, with the Comte de Lauture, a French officer. The others were stated to have died from their wounds, and the real truth, unsuspected at the time, did not leak out for some days. The fact was then proved beyond question that the prisoners had been tortured with an ingenious barbarity which made death a happy release. It was shown by the evidence of the survivors that the prisoners had been bound by ropes so tightly as to stay the circulation of the blood, and that water had then been poured over the cords to cause them to shrink and tighten them still more. The victims had been provided only with food so revolting as to be uneatable. Several of them had been placed in cages. The treatment dealt out to their victims by the Chinese was so vile as to cause Lieut. Anderson to become delirious and die raving mad on the ninth day of his confinement. Mr. De Norman perished a week later; Captain Brabazon and a French abbé who had fallen into Celestial hands were executed; Mr. Bowlby died from starvation and ill-treatment.

The revelation of these atrocities, while it angered the minds of the Allies, does not appear to have greatly disturbed Lord Elgin in his desire to bring the situation to a peaceful conclusion. Had it been otherwise it is probable that some form of punishment more in accordance with the heinousness of the crimes committed would have been devised, the severity of which would have endured longer in the memory of the Chinese. There can be little doubt that Lord Elgin, who had had enough of China, was extremely anxious to return home before the winter set in and the river became frozen, and his actions from the time of his arrival at

Peking show his desire to patch up a peace and withdraw as speedily as possible. After consultation with Sir Hope Grant, it was decided that the destruction of the Summer Palace would afford a punishment suitable to the occasion. Baron Gros demurred to this scheme on artistic grounds, but in their desire to end the existing tension the British officers determined to adopt this course, and on the 18th October the palace was destroyed by fire and an indemnity of £100,000 demanded as compensation to the families of the murdered men.

While utterly inadequate to the monstrosities indulged in by the Chinese, the burning of the Yuen Ming Yuen by the British served as a severe object lesson to the Chinese. The bulk of the population of Peking, at that time over a million people, witnessed the conflagration, and for a while it cast a gloom over the entire city.

As soon as this sentence had been carried out, the allied commanders proceeded in their preparations for the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin. Mr. Parkes was ordered to take the steps necessary to carry out this ceremony in some building held sacred by the Chinese, and after patrolling Peking he recommended the Hall of Ceremonies for this purpose.

The formal ratification was performed in this building on the 24th October between Lord Elgin and Prince Kung. The ceremony, which was carried out in great state after a body of troops had been paraded through the main thoroughfares of the city, passed off with considerable *éclat*, though it was a great mistake on the part of Lord Elgin not to have insisted that the Emperor should himself have attended the function and with his own hand have exchanged the ratifications.

Lord Elgin then placed Mr. Frederick Bruce in charge of British interests at Peking, and on the 9th November the allied troops marched out from the Celestial capital on their way to the sea. A small garrison was left at Taku to ensure the carrying out of the clauses of the treaty, and the relations between China and Great Britain were left looking more satisfactory than had ever been the case before.

The same year which saw the humbling of the Chinese and the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin with the British witnessed the signature of yet another treaty, which marks the starting point of Russia's active influence in China.

Notwithstanding the failure of early Russian attempts to open up relations with the Court of Peking, the agents of the Tsar had made repeated endeavours to attain the desired end, and, finding that the repeated insistence of envoys made little difference in the attitude of the Chinese, a course of direct expansion was adopted which attained the same end in an even more direct way.

Early in the nineteenth century Russia requested permission from China to navigate the River Amur, which, according to the Treaty of Nerchinsk, formed the demarcating line between the two countries. The request was, as might have been expected, promptly refused, and the Russians, with that fixity of purpose with which their actions have ever been distinguished, determined to do without it. In 1847 Muravieff set out on his famous exploration of the Amur. His journey was marked by the establishment of a number of posts along the river banks, which have long since become expanded into towns. In this way Nikolaievsk, Alexandrovsk, Konstantinovsk, and Khabarofsk were founded. This activity not unnaturally attracted the attention of the Chinese, who remonstrated at the breach of the understanding involved. Muravieff replied that the development of the Amur was necessary to the interests of the Russian settlements in Siberia. In time the friction thus caused grew. In 1854 the Crimean War engaged the attention of Russia in the West, and the Amur afforded the only means of communicating with her Far East settlements in Asia. The passage of Russian ships on the great river again evoked the protests of the Chinese, whereupon Muravieff fitted out an expedition and conveyed a large force of Cossacks down the Amur, establishing Russian posts at short intervals along the whole of the river's course.

The Chinese protested in vain. They were helpless, and the Russians knew it. China's protest was replied to by the issue of a demand for the "rectification" of the frontier, a phrase which disguised a claim for a cession of Chinese territory. The Chinese were paralysed by fear of Russia; they had no means of resisting her. To have refused would have been to give the despoiler the excuse she sought to invade the country and despoil her of even more. Wherefore the Chinese assented to the unheard-of demand, and, without any equivalent, ceded the whole of the Chinese territory north of the Amur to Russia, by the Treaty of Aigun, on the 28th May, 1858. The territory thus acquired was proclaimed Russian territory under the name of the Amur Province, and Muravieff's diplomacy rewarded by the title of Count and the prefix "Amurski" added to his name.

Thus Russia made her first inroad on China, and the success of the venture appears, instead of having satisfied her ambition, to have only served to whet her appetite for more. While the Allies were forging across the plains of Pechili, on their way to Peking, Russia realised the opportunity presented, and sent General Ignatieff to China to further her interests as occasion might arise. The Chinese were in a state of panic, and utterly unfitted to make a stand against any concessions which might be demanded of them. Their country being invaded by one foreign nation, they were utterly unable to offer resistance to the incursion of another, and when Ignatieff proposed the execution of the Treaty of Peking in 1860 the Peking Government had no alternative but to submit. In this way was obtained the conclusion of a treaty which ceded to Russia the whole of the maritime province of Manchuria, comprising an area of 715,982 square miles, or six times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and possessing a coast-line on the Pacific extending over a length of nine hundred miles. Nor was this the sum of the concessions accorded by the Treaty of Peking. In addition to the cession of the whole of the territory east of the Ussuri river, from the Amur to D'Anville Gulf, it gave over Lake Balkash and Issik Kul, and accorded the right of stationing a Russian consul at Urga, in Mongolia. It further conferred the right of travel throughout China on Russian merchants, and established free trade on all common frontiers.

Thus in a comparatively short space of time was the Chinese Empire, after an existence of several thousand years of isolation, forced into communion with the Powers of Europe; and England, France, Russia, and Portugal each succeeded in establishing communication and trade with the most exclusive Empire the world has ever seen.

It was not to be expected that so marked a new departure in the history of China should pass without bringing in its train a series of changes fraught with import to the Empire most concerned. It will be seen that the action of the various Powers has had a very marked influence on not only the fortunes of the exploiting nations, but also on those of China herself, and the events to be narrated will show that the incidents already chronicled had a distinct influence in bringing about those events which mark the culmination of the story of China, and bring that country into the midst of the world politics of to-day.

Before proceeding with the chronicle of events in China it may not be uninteresting if I briefly review the situation of China at the close of that portion of her history marked by the signing of the treaties of 1860, a year which must ever be regarded by the Chinese as a period of national abasement.

It must be borne in mind that the Chinese are a highly civilised people. Their civilisation, it is true, is not that of Western nations. Its principles and its refinements stand apart from those which obtain in other parts of the world, but they are as strongly marked and well defined among the Chinese as are the dictates of Western civilisation recognised among European nations.

The outcome of three hundred years of intercourse with foreigners had been the abasement of the Chinese, the occupation of their capital, the destruction of one of their most sacred buildings, and the imposition of terms which nothing short of force would have persuaded them to accept. The most bitter portion of the punishment thus awarded was, however, the humbling of their pride, which among succeeding generations of Chinese, extending over thousands of years, had grown without a check, and the attitude of the nation towards the foreign Powers who had thus penalised it can easily be surmised.

The feeling among the Chinese towards Europeans after the signing of the Tientsin treaties was one of disguised but unalterable hatred. The policy adopted by the people was one of opportunism tempered by revenge. The treaties were regarded as documents which must be carried out until it was safe to disregard them, and the ablest brains among the Celestials sought methods wherewith to belittle the triumphant conquerors and evade the conditions they had imposed. Every concession made to the Powers was explained away by edict or by proclamation. The foreign troops were stated to have come as escort to a payment of tribute from the "outer barbarians" to the Son of Heaven; the fighting had been due to a misunderstanding; the posting of an Ambassador at Peking was explained as being due to the desire of the Western Powers to station a representative at the Celestial Court who could worship in the divine precincts of the Imperial city. And so, with considerable imaginative skill, was every action likely to detract from the glory of the Chinese explained away.

No suspicion seems to have occurred to the Chinese of the real power possessed by European countries. The possibility of any nation being more enlightened or possessing a higher civilisation than Celestials never dawned upon their intelligence, and when suggestions of such facts reached the authorities every effort was made to prevent their being spread. As far back as 1763 two Chinamen visited Europe and passed a considerable time at Paris and elsewhere. They returned to China greatly impressed with what they had seen, and narrated their experiences at Peking. On learning for the first time of the power and superiority of the barbarian nations, the mandarins simply refused to credit what they heard, and forbade the travellers retailing their experiences elsewhere, under penalty of imprisonment and torture. By these means the Chinese sought to maintain the national conceit which has from the earliest times played so prominent a part in the Chinese character. And to-day the arrogance of the Celestial is as dominant as any attribute he possesses; and the lessons of half a dozen foreign wars, in every one of which the Chinese have been badly beaten, have failed either to inculcate a respect for the superior power of other nations or to moderate the intense self-complacency which is inherent in the Celestial character.

In this regard the Chinaman is the most conservative creature on earth. His ideas are so fixed that nothing can change them; and his efforts in emergencies are always directed towards surmounting difficulties by going round them, rather than towards equipping himself for their conquest. The course pursued in the early struggles with the British were the same as those which are being followed to-day. Refusing to realise the inevitable, he has always disregarded warnings, scorned danger until too late, and finally made the best terms possible in order to obviate a difficult situation, with the firm resolve to break all pledges and return to his old tactics immediately the atmosphere has cleared. From the beginning of his relations with foreigners the Chinaman has never sought to arrive at a *modus vivendi*. He has repeatedly scorned the stranger, and inflicted such indignities on him as to force a resort to hostilities. His next move has always been to prevent the infliction of any indignity on his pride, especially in respect to the intrusion of Europeans on the sanctity of the Celestial capital; and the expedients practised successfully against Captain Elliot in 1840, and unsuccessfully in the case of Lord Elgin in 1860, are in 1900 being again tried in the hope of preventing the Allies, at any cost, continuing their occupation of the sacred city.

In dealing with a people such as this no ordinary measures will serve. No methods are likely to be effective which are not devised with a full appreciation of the exceptional train of thought by which they are actuated. A European is at a great disadvantage when pitted against an Oriental, and the Celestial is the extreme type of his class. This fact has never been sufficiently grasped. Its neglect has been responsible for much of the trouble which has occurred in Further Asia, and an appreciation of its importance would go far to simplify the problems which have to be solved if British interests in China are to be preserved.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EMPIRE.

The ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin placed the foreigner on an altogether better footing among the Chinese, and led to an increase in commercial intercourse which tended to add to the prosperity alike of China and the European Powers. The insistence exhibited by France and England in the advance on Peking had, moreover, served to make the mandarins temper their natural insolence by a respect for the powerful Europeans. Trade at the treaty ports accordingly progressed, and the relations between China and the West continued on a friendly basis.

The only incident of note during the years immediately following this event was the marked growth in the dimensions assumed by the Taeping Rebellion, which overran the whole of Central and South China, and for a while threatened to overthrow the dynasty.

The Taepings were a sect of revolutionaries whose name signifies "grand peace." It arose in response to the promptings of an individual named Hung Swei-tseuen, a Christian convert, who, posing as a mystic, gathered round him a number of followers in the province of Kwangsi in 1840. His preaching inculcated a corrupt form of Christianity and the liberty of the individual. The movement spread, and attracted many converts from the Great Triad Society, the object of which was the expulsion of the Manchus and the restoration of a Chinese line of kings. Thus reinforced, the Taeping movement spread, and rapidly assumed gigantic proportions. In a very brief space of time the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, and Anwei became dominated by the Taepings, who, realising their strength, seized the city of Yungan and proclaimed Hung Swei-tseuen Emperor.

Encouraged by the success of their first effort, the Taepings hastened to overrun the country, gaining adherents wherever they went. They captured Wuchang and Nganking, and laid siege to the ancient capital itself. After obtaining possession of Nanking, the rebels declared their intention of attacking Peking, but they were repulsed by the Imperial troops and fell back on the Yangtse Valley, which they continued to hold notwithstanding the despatch of large bodies of troops against them.

The Taepings were only one of a number of secret societies which infested China at this period, many of which exhibit their manifestations in the eighteen provinces to the present day. Besides the Triads, there were the Black Flags, a fraternity of cut-throat smugglers in South China which still flourishes; the Pee Lean Keaou, or "sect of the white lily," which revelled in atrocities among the Buddhists; the Vegetarians, and many others. The fact is, the Government of China is so corrupt, and the grievances of the people are so many and so grievous, that the whole population is in a seething condition of discontent, and it only needs a reasonable prospect of success to ensure the adhesion of considerable numbers to any rebellious scheme which may be mooted.

The capture of Nanking, and later on the native city of Shanghai, by the Taepings gave a serious turn to the aspect of affairs, and the Peking Government, anxious for the safety of the country, sought British aid with which to quell the rising. The services of Major Charles G. Gordon were accorded for the purpose of leading the Chinese Imperial forces against the Taepings. He speedily justified his selection by the defeat of the rebels wherever he met them. Before he had led his men for many weeks he had earned for them the title of the "Ever

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Victorious Army," and in a remarkably short space of time he entirely quelled the Taepings and created order throughout Central China. For these services Gordon was accorded the highest honours at the hands of the Chinese, and the incident shows that, notwithstanding his dislike to foreigners, the Celestial recognises our superiority over himself, and that he is ready to reward the European who serves his country with a free hand.

Shortly after the ratification of the Tientsin Treaty, and while the Taepings were overrunning the central provinces of China, Admiral Hope, in command of a British squadron, set out on a mission to open up the treaty ports authorised on the banks of the Yangtse Kiang. The flotilla left Shanghai on the 21st February, 1861, and made for Chinkiang, where a consulate was established among the ruins of the city, which had been destroyed by the rebels. The Admiral then went to Nanking, where he was received by the Taeping leaders. Wuhu, Kiukiang, and Hankow were subsequently visited. Consuls were posted at each, and guardships left to protect the British concessions which were forthwith marked out. The whole country was overrun by the rebels, and evidences of the inability of the mandarins to govern the people or protect them from the ravages of the

Taepings were everywhere apparent. Thus was the valley of the Yangtse Kiang opened up to British trade, which has since flourished there exceedingly.

While Admiral Hope was thus engaged in Central China, British interests were being furthered in the north by the arrival of Sir Frederick Bruce as first British Minister at Peking. He arrived in March, 1861, and took up his residence in the palace formerly belonging to the Duke of Leang, which had been leased by the British Government for the purposes of the British Legation. A difficulty then arose as to the methods to be followed in the conduct of communications between the British Minister and the Chinese Government, there being no official specially charged with the duties fulfilled by our own Foreign Minister. The difficulty was solved by Prince Kung, who established the new board, which he named the Tsungli-Yamên, which was entrusted (as I have explained in Chapter I.) with the holding of communication with the foreign representatives in Peking, as is done by our own Foreign Office. At first it consisted of three members, but this was subsequently increased to eleven.

The death of the Emperor Hienfung, which occurred in August, 1861, was made the occasion of a series of Court intrigues having for their object the placing of different pretenders on the throne. Owing to the ability of Prince Kung, the usurpation of the throne was obviated, and the rightful heir, the youthful Tungche, succeeded his father under the regency of his mother and his father's favourite concubine the Dowager Empress Tsi Hsi. The succession of the six-year-old Emperor is noteworthy for the fact that it brought into prominence this masterful woman, whose actions have so largely affected the Chinese Empire in recent years. The actual government of the country was placed jointly in the hands of the Empresses Tsi An and Tsi Hsi and Prince Kung, and the crisis threatened at the Chinese Court passed away.

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During the occurrence of these events the French were busy carving out an empire from Chinese territory in the Burmese Peninsula. For many years there had existed a species of understanding between France and the Kings of Annam, and ambassadors had been sent from one country to the other on various occasions. After the French Treaty of Tientsin had been concluded on the same lines as the British, the fleet had sailed for Hué, the capital of Annam, to demand reparation for various wrongs which had been done to French missionaries in that country. The officials proving recalcitrant, a campaign was opened against them, and after two years of guerilla warfare a treaty was signed in 1862 ceding the province of Saigon, at the mouth of the Mekawng river, to France. Shortly after this the King of Cambodia acknowledged himself tributary to France, which became suzerain over the whole of Cochin China.

Thus did the French obtain a footing in the south of China, for the country thus informally annexed was subject to the payment of tribute to the Chinese Court. It is not, therefore, remarkable that the Chinese resented the action of France, and the relations between the two countries rapidly became strained, and continued to be so until later on the situation culminated in open war.

In 1864 the Taeping Rebellion was finally quelled, after ravaging the country for upwards of twenty years and costing over half a million lives. Stupendous as was the crisis inflicted by this rising, and near as it had brought China to a collapse, the lesson taught was wasted on the imperturbable Chinese. While the demonstration was at its height the Peking authorities appeared impressed by the threatening danger, and, listening to the advice of those around them, agreed to accept the loan of the services of a British officer who might organise a fleet for the defence of the Empire. Captain Sherard

Osborne was accordingly lent to the Chinese, who appointed him Commander of the China Fleet, the vessels for which were purchased in England. The arrival of the ships caused much friction between the British Commander and the officials, who insisted on interfering with the carrying out of his orders, and meddled with all contracts so as to obtain their share of squeeze. Matters rapidly became so strained that Captain Osborne resigned his command, and as soon as the Taeping Rebellion was brought to an end by the efforts of Major Gordon it was decided that there was no longer any need for a Chinese fleet. The vessels were thereupon sent to Europe and sold for what they would fetch, thus ending the existence of the first Chinese navy.

The growth of foreign relations and the development of foreign trade served to rouse a feeling of hostility among the mandarins against the extension of European influence. The attitude assumed by the officials reacted on that of the masses, and the year 1868 was marked by a series of anti-foreign manifestations, more especially against the missionaries, who appeared to be gaining influence over the natives of the central provinces. In August of that year the mission houses at Yangchow were attacked, and the missionaries narrowly escaped with their lives;

and this outrage was succeeded by others with increasing frequency until, in 1870, the awful massacre of the French Consul and twenty-two missionaries, including several women, took place at Tientsin, where the mandarins and literati had stirred up the anger of the ignorant masses by announcing that the missionaries habitually killed the native children in their orphanage in order to prepare drugs from their eyes. Nor was this the end of the trouble. Rioting against foreigners occurred at Fatshan in the same year, when much property was destroyed. In 1878 the Wushihshan mission was attacked; in 1889 extensive anti-foreign riots occurred at Chinkiang; a number of native Christians were massacred at Jongtuytsin in 1891; while in 1891 serious rioting broke out in the foreign settlement at Wuhu, similar trouble occurring at Ichang shortly after. From then till now murders and outrages against foreign Christians have been frequent. Chengtu, Fatshan, and Whasang have been overrun by fanatical mobs, who have slain every Christian they have come upon. German missionaries have been killed (with dire results to the Chinese) in Shantung, French priests have been done to death in Sechuan and Manchuria, and British Christian workers have lost their lives at Ching Ping and Paoting Fu.

Nor have these outrages been restricted to those who have come to China to preach the Christian religion. In August, 1874, Mr. A. R. Margary, a member of the British Legation staff at Peking, was sent on a special mission, with the full knowledge and consent of the Chinese Government authorities, across China from Shanghai to Bhamo, on the Burma frontier. He made the journey in safety, but on his return he was, by order of the Chinese Governor, attacked and murdered at Manwyne, in Yunnan. This deed, committed in cold blood, was so gross an infraction of the law of civilisation as to demand prompt and severe vengeance. But by dint of a policy of excuses, repeated pleas of inability to discover the murderers, and delays, nothing whatever was done until eighteen months after the crime had been committed, and the utterly insufficient reparation then obtained was rendered possible only by the determination evinced by Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister at Peking, who, finding after a year's negotiation that the Chinese continued to raise difficulties, left Peking, and refused to continue to hold communication with the authorities.

On this, Li Hung Chang, who had come into prominence owing to his success in dealing with the Taeping rebels, was ordered to follow Sir

Thomas Wade and come to an arrangement. The mandarin found the Minister at Chifu, and there, after much protestation, was concluded the Treaty of Chifu, which was signed on the 13th September, 1876. Under this convention an indemnity was given to the family of the murdered man, by way of compensation for his loss and as an admission of regret on the part of the Chinese, and the right of all foreigners provided with passports to travel in China is accorded, the responsibility for their safety being placed on the viceroys and governors of the provinces in which they travel. In addition to this, the ports of Ichang, Wuhu, Wenchow, and Pakhoi are declared open to foreign trade, and several concessions of minor importance are granted.

In 1875 died the young Emperor Tungche. His death has never been satisfactorily explained, and rumours, that the Dowager Empress Tsi Hsi could, if she liked, hazard a correct guess as to the cause of her ward's demise, were not set at rest by the subsequent sudden end of the Empress Tsi An, who expired mysteriously very shortly after her son. Thus the Empress Tsi Hsi became sole representative of the Emperor's power; and she set about securing the nomination of another minor, thus ensuring a continuation of her period of office.

The child selected was Tsai-tien, son of Prince Chun, and nephew of the Emperor Hienfung. He was at the period of his accession three years old, and was proclaimed Emperor under the style of Kwangsu, signifying "illustrious succession." This matter settled to the satisfaction of the scheming Tsi Hsi, the Dowager Empress settled down to a resumed period of power, since none dared suggest any other arrangement than a continuation of her regency. China thus remained under the sway of this ambitious woman for a further period of thirteen years, until the young Emperor came of age in 1887; but even then she succeeded in finding excuses for a postponement of his assumption of Imperial power, and it was not until 1889 that she nominally retired from her regency. The events of this period have yet to be related, but it will be seen that Tsi Hsi never became reconciled to the loss of her power, and the measures she took subsequently to obtain a return of her influence were long foreseen by those who were able to appreciate the situation.

In the year 1879 some considerable friction arose between China and Russia over the question of the control of Kulja, in Jungaria, which had been seized by Russia on the plea of maintaining order during the Mohammedan rising which had then occurred, and it looked very much as if the two countries would proceed to war. The services of Colonel Gordon were called in, and he succeeded in negotiating a friendly arrangement by which hostilities were averted and his reputation among the Chinese increased.

In 1883 France once more became active in the south. In that year the King of Annam, who, while admitting the suzerainty of France, yet held a guarantee of his independence in so far as the internal government of his kingdom was concerned, died, and Rivière, the French commandant, resolving to make the most of the opportunity, moved on Hanoi, which he occupied. The city was immediately surrounded by Annamese and Chinese troops, and besieged. It was captured, and Rivière and his troops slain. He was succeeded by General Bouch, who retook Hanoi after repulsing the enemy with heavy loss.

On receiving news of these events, the Chinese Government became equally angered, and the Marquis Tseng, the Chinese Minister at Paris, was recalled; but by the interposition of Li Hung Chang an arrangement was come to under which the Chinese agreed to withdraw from Tonkin and recognise French rights in Annam, as well as to throw the frontiers of the provinces of Yunnan, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi open to French trade.

In the conclusion of this treaty the Chinese were only repeating their customary tactics. Time was desired in order to make arrangements for the protection of Chinese interests, and while the negotiations were in progress numbers of troops were despatched southwards. On the French attempting to occupy the town of Langson, they found it occupied by a large Chinese force, and remonstrances at Peking were met with a demand for the evacuation of the country by the French.

An immediate demand was thereupon made to the Chinese Government for the surrender of all the frontier forts and the payment of an indemnity of ten millions sterling. On this demand being refused, Admiral Courbet sailed to the Min river, while Admiral Lespés went to Formosa and attacked Kelung. Then followed in speedy succession the bombardment of Fuchow, the destruction of the Chinese fleet, the capture of Tamsui, and the seizure of the Pescadores Islands. From the very outset the Chinese were worsted in every engagement; Chin Hae was taken, and all Chinese vessels met were torpedoed and sunk.

These tactics speedily reduced the Celestials to a sense of their incapacity, a lesson which, unfortunately for themselves, they forgot as soon as the crisis was over. Sir Robert Hart intervened, and persuaded the Celestials to negotiate, and on the 6th April peace was declared. A treaty was signed between the two Powers on the 9th June, by which China abandoned her suzerain rights over Tonkin and Annam in favour of France. But even this climb down did not end the trouble. A series of massacres perpetrated by the Chinese made the situation acute once more, and the French replied by a series of expeditions among the people, in which large numbers were killed.

Thus France became possessed of the four provinces of Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia, and Cochin China, with an area of 315,250 square miles and a population of eighteen million people, previously subject to the Court of Peking; and she has used her position on the Chinese frontier ever since as a fulcrum from which to ply the lever of preferential rights and concessions for exploiting the southern provinces of the Chinese Empire.

Financially and commercially, France has not been very successful in the development of her possessions in Eastern Asia. Her colonies are over-officered and sparsely colonised, and most of the goods imported are of British origin, while the bulk of the carrying trade is conducted by British vessels. But the possession of Tonkin and its neighbours gratifies her vanity, and, despite the drag they cause on her exchequer, she is ever on the look out to obtain further extensions of those colonies which she has so manifestly failed to develop.

While the influence of the Powers was thus gradually extending on the borders of China, the march of Western progress within the country was extremely slow. The commercial class, which came most into contact with foreigners, profited by their communion so greatly that their prejudices were overcome, and the natives of the treaty ports became, for the most part, if not actually friendly, at least tolerant of Europeans. But the number of these was out of all proportion to the population of the country, and it is probably even now safe to assume that, of the 400,000,000 of people in the Chinese Empire, 350,000,000 have never seen a European, and only know of his existence from the distorted exaggerations put about by the literati and foreign-hating officials.

After many years of wasted effort, the first railway was opened in China between Shanghai and its outlying suburb of Woosung, twelve miles away, in 1876. The opening of this line was a great function, and the new mode of travel was speedily taken advantage of by the natives, who welcomed the rapid and comfortable method of travel afforded with the greatest enthusiasm. The officials, however, took a different view. After having been opened only a few months, the Chinese Government made overtures to Sir Thomas Wade for the purchase of the line. The offer was accepted, and the railway handed over to the mandarins, who promptly transported the engines and carriages to the island of Formosa, while they had the rails lifted and cast into the sea! Three years later a short line of rail was constructed by the energy of the English engineer of the Kaiping Collieries, near Tongshan, for the purpose of saving labour in the carriage of coal between the pit-mouth and the sea. The men employed at the mines speedily availed themselves of the trains for their conveyance to and from their work, and the line gradually became popular. By slow degrees it became extended; the line was continued as far as Tientsin in one direction and Shan Hai Kuan, where the Great Wall comes down to the Gulf of Pechili, in the other, and in 1896 the continuation of the line to the outskirts of Peking itself was authorised. The line thus created now forms the Northern Railway of China, which has been partially wrecked by the "Boxers" in the recent revolt.

We have seen how the various Powers came gradually to exert their influence in

China. The ball was opened by the Portuguese, who acquired Macao in the middle of the sixteenth century. They were followed by the English, whose first emissary, Captain Weddell, reached Canton in 1634, and after developing considerable trade relations with the Chinese they were joined by the Americans in 1791, and the French in 1802. While these overtures were being made by the Powers in South China, Russia made repeated attempts to open up relations with the Chinese across their northern frontier, but without success, and it was not until 1858 that, by the negotiation of the Treaty of Aigun, the agents of the Tsar succeeded in coming into touch with the Celestials.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw each of these Powers busy prosecuting the advantages it had secured, and the contrast in their methods is seen in the means employed by each for the furthering of its interests. England and America directed their efforts solely to the development of commercial relations with the Chinese; Russia in the north, and France in the south, strove to filch as much Chinese territory as they could absorb from the control of the Chinese. And this contrast becomes the more marked when it is borne in mind that, while England and America, by the reciprocal character of their dealings with the Celestials, benefited China in a degree equal to the profits they derived, neither Russia nor France played into the hands of the Chinese, and the relations of those Powers with China were dictated purely by the love of territorial gain and the desire for national profit.

As years rolled on the Chinese came to regard the presence of the foreigner as an unavoidable evil, and the offence caused by the Western invader came to be condoned by the obvious profits derived from his propinquity. It is, indeed, curious to note that the foreign merchant has long been accepted by the Chinese, and demonstrations against his continued presence have been for many years past a very rare occurrence. With the missionary it is otherwise. The Chinaman has never taken kindly to the Christian religion, and he resents the presence of the missionary whose avowed object is to persuade him to adopt a creed other than that to which he is inured; while the native, with that acute perception for which the Celestial is remarkable, has long since realised the fact that the missionary, apart from his individual aim, is in most cases, however innocently, the advance guard of the exploiter and the concession hunter, who is the best hated product of Western civilisation in the Chinese estimation.

Such was the situation in China in the year

1894, when, to judge from externals, the country had settled down in acquiescence to the presence of the once hated foreigner, and the Chinese had begun to give evidence of their intention to awaken and join in the international march of progress.

The trade of the country had advanced by leaps and bounds, headed by the vast commerce controlled by Great Britain. The total foreign trade of the eighteen provinces had grown to £61,000,000 sterling, of which £39,000,000 was British. No other country came within comparable measurement in point of trade with China, and the superiority of this country in respect to trade was even more marked in point of shipping. The country second to Great Britain as regards its commerce is Japan, which boasts of an annual total of rather under £5,000,000 sterling, while the United States, at the time referred to, boasted a total of rather less. Russia, which has absorbed more Chinese territory and possesses greater influence in the country than other Powers, did not reach a total of £3,000,000 sterling, imports and exports combined.

These figures are eloquent in the aspect in which they place the relative interests of the various Powers in China. It was during this condition of affairs that, of a sudden and almost without warning, the war broke out between Japan and China in 1894.

The origin of this struggle is not germane to the present volume. It arose out of a series of disputes respecting Korea, which country was nominally under the suzerainty of China; while Japan, possessing many interests there, championed the independent rights of the Koreans and took up the cause of the country against the continued over-lordship of Peking.

From the outset the Chinese were worsted in every contest. Bringing old-time methods, unsupported by either skill or training, to bear upon the highly trained and up-to-date forces sent against them by the Japanese, the issue was never in doubt for a single moment. Alike by land and by sea the Chinese sustained defeat, and one after another the ports of Newchang, Kinchou, Talienwan, Port Arthur, and Wei Hai Wei were captured and occupied by the Japanese. Formosa was attacked and seized, the Pescadores Islands captured, and Japan stood master of the situation, with China at her feet.

At this juncture the Powers, responding to the appeal of China, interposed, and a treaty of peace was concluded early in 1895 which, all things considered, cannot be held to have been unduly severe on the vanquished state. It provided for the declaration of the independence of Korea, the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula, Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands to Japan, the payment to that country of an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels (£33,500,000 sterling) by China, and the opening of four more ports to foreign trade.

The treaty was signed at Shimonoseki, in Japan, on the 17th April, 1895; and a few days after its provisions became known a joint protest was despatched to China and Japan, by Russia, France, and Germany, objecting to the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula, on the ground that such a course would entail the partition of China, and that the presence of Japan in the Liaotung Peninsula would entail a threat on the independence of Peking.

Japan realised that she was powerless to oppose the wishes of three first-class European Powers. Great Britain, it is true, refrained from joining the objecting coalition, but, on the other hand, she took no steps to support Japan. So the conqueror of China decided to eat the leek, and announced her readiness to forego the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula in return for an increased indemnity of six millions sterling. It was also agreed that Japan was to continue the occupation of Wei Hai Wei until the whole of the indemnity was paid.

Thus ended the Chino-Japanese War, an event which, while it shed a flood of light on the true condition of China, placed the Japanese in the front rank of nations, bestowed independence on Korea, and set in motion those forces which culminated in the anti-foreign outbreaks in China which startled civilisation in May, 1900.

For two years the political aspect of the Far East remained unchanged. The commercial activities of Great Britain and of America continued undiminished, Russia busied herself in the skilful formulation of plans for the future, while France prosecuted her aims for the acquisition of territory and glory in the south. So matters progressed without a ripple on the surface of the political horizon until the beginning of November, 1897, when the news came of the murder of two German missionaries in the province of Shantung.

The circumstances which accompanied the march of events immediately following this announcement must, from the German standpoint, be regarded as providential. Germany's interests in China were at the time comparatively insignificant. Beyond a few merchants resident at Shanghai and Hankow, she possessed no stake in the country, and the presence of a German squadron in German waters may be said to have been due rather to the desire to advertise her resources than to any need for the protection of her trade.

Within a few hours of the receipt of the news of the murders, the German squadron, comprising the *Kaiser*, *Prinzess Wilhelm*, and *Cormorant*, made for the bay of Kiao Chau, on the coast of Shantung, and put a landing party ashore, which took possession of the heights overlooking the bay. A lieutenant then landed inside the bay, and gave notice to the Chinese general in command of the garrison that he must withdraw within three hours. The ships forthwith anchored with their guns pointed at the forts, in evidence of the intention of the Germans to enforce their demands.

The mandarin, realising the superiority of the opposing force, obeyed his instructions and withdrew, whereupon the German flag was hoisted on the East Fort amid the cheers of the German sailors. The Chinese marched inland, and the foreigners occupied the forts which they had thus bloodlessly gained.

A few days later Baron Von Heyking, the German Minister at Peking, drew up a series of demands, which were transmitted to the Tsungli-Yamên. These were as follow: The building of a memorial to the murdered missionaries; the indemnification of the families of the murdered men; the degradation of the Governor of

Shantung, in whose government the murders took place; the payment of the cost of the German occupation of Kiao Chau Harbour; and the accordance of preference to German engineers for the building of any railway which might be constructed or the working of any mine which might be developed along the line of any such railway.

In reply to these demands the Tsungli Yamen refused to discuss the points raised until Kiao Chau had been evacuated. Baron Von Heyking retorted that the uselessness of relying on Chinese promises had been proved by experience, and therefore the evacuation of Kiao Chau would not take place until the demands made had been conceded. Five days later, while the Tsungli Yamen were still considering the matter, the Germans posted notices in Chinese about Kiao Chau notifying that a certain area round the bay would be seized and governed by Germany.

On hearing of these proclamations, the Chinese general commanding the troops in Shantung abused the Germans roundly, and on hearing of this Baron Von Heyking demanded the immediate dismissal of the general, under threat of his immediately quitting Peking. The Tsungli Yamen, now thoroughly alarmed, immediately recalled the general, and granted a lease of Kiao Chau to Germany for a period ot fifty years.

The course pursued in relation to Kiao Chau by Germany is probably the most extreme instance of political high-handedness on record. The seizure of a magnificent harbour and the ear-marking of a province bigger than England is an altogether preposterous compensation, in addition to ample apology and the payment of a large indemnity, for the murder of two missionaries by fanatics; and the act of spoliation, for which this incident was made the excuse, besides making serious inroads into the country most concerned, was certain, by upsetting the balance of power in China, to cause other equally unscrupulous Powers to follow the example set, and hasten to bring about a further partition of the Chinese Empire.

Germany possessed not the least excuse for the action taken. Many British and French missionaries had been murdered, and the crimes had been expiated by the payment of indemnities and the infliction of penal enactments on the Chinese. Even the brutal murder of Mr. Margary, who was an accredited agent of the British Government, and was killed while travelling on Government business, was not made an excuse for the seizure of territory. But Germany thought proper to make the murder of two missionaries the occasion for the practical annexation of one of the richest provinces of China, and by doing so hastened the course of events which resulted in the sacrifice of further life later on. Thus did Kiao Chau fall into the hands of the masterful Fatherland, with consequences which were probably unsuspected even by the Kaiser himself.

The first outcome of Germany's action was seen in the trend of Russian policy a month later. Kiao Chau was seized on the 14th November. On the 18th December a Russian squadron entered the harbour of Port Arthur, at the foot of the Liaotung Peninsula, and demanded the cession of that port in compensation for the rights accorded to Germany. The Chinese affected to protest, to no purpose, and the reiteration of the Russian demand settled the matter. Port Arthur, with its neighbouring harbour of Talienwan, was leased by China to Russia on the same terms and for the same period as had been Kiao Chau to Germany. The places named, constituting the whole of the southern extremity of the Liaotung Peninsula, were formally handed over to Russia on March 25th, 1898.

Nor was this the limit of Russian action. While the acquisition of Port Arthur and Talienwan was yet the talk of the hour it became known that by a secret convention with China, signed two years before, Russia had obtained the right of constructing a branch of the Siberian Railway through Manchuria, thus cutting off a very large corner of the original route proposed between Siberia and Vladivostok; and the terms of the agreement, when published, showed that the concession thus obtained accorded the practical control of the whole of Manchuria to Russia.

The publication of these facts attracted much attention in Europe, and served to show the trend of Russian policy in the Far East, a policy which has for its aim the overrunning of China and the absorption of her territories under the sway of the Tsar.

There were, however, circumstances in connection with Russia's seizure of the Liaotung Peninsula which made her action the more reprehensible in the eyes of the world. It was Russia that had led the Powers in protesting against the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan, two years before. She had urged as her main objection, that the Power which held Port Arthur might at any time threaten the independence of Peking; and yet she herself, after successfully protesting against its occupation by Japan, had occupied it, and announced her intention of holding it against all comers.

The action of Russia in regard to Port Arthur was therefore even more unjustifiable than was that of Germany in regard to Kiao Chau. But none of the great Powers interfered. And so Russia reaped her triumph without firing a shot, and started on that dominion in North China the end of which is yet to come.

The action of Germany in her seizure of Kiao Chau seems to have been contagious. Russia consoled herself by annexing a slice of China's northern province, and her example was speedily followed by Great Britain. It was pointed out that the additional strength derived by Germany and Russia from their new acquisitions on the China coast would give them an undue advantage in naval strength over that possessed by this country, and with a view to redressing this the British Government signed a convention with China for the lease of the harbour of Wei Hai Wei, which at that time was still occupied by the Japanese, pending the final instalment of the war indemnity of 1895.

By the terms of this lease the harbour of Wei Hai Wei, with the island of Liukung and a strip of land ten miles wide all round the bay, became vested in Great Britain for the same period as Port Arthur was leased to Russia, and the place was taken over by us when the Japanese troops departed on May 24th, 1898.

A good deal of discussion has arisen over the acquisition of Wei Hai Wei by this country. Some are of opinion that it was a mistake to depart from our custom not to take territory in China; others aver that the place is ill adapted to the requirements of a naval base. The fact of the matter is mainly one of expenditure. If the necessary sum is provided for fortifying and defending the approaches to the harbour, Wei Hai Wei is capable of being developed into a magnificent naval station in every respect well suited to our needs. Without the construction of the necessary works the place possesses little value except as a coaling station for the British Fleet.

Thus within six short months did Britain, Russia, and Germany obtain bases on the China coast line, with the result that the situation in the Far East became alike changed and quickened. Nor was the action of these Powers wasted on the Chinese themselves. The triumphant seizure of so much territory by the hated foreigners served to reanimate the smouldering flame of animus against our methods, and it cannot be denied that the measures by which these acquisitions were followed were ill calculated to reassure the suspicions of the natives as to the further intentions of the Powers in regard to the future of their country.

The extension of the possessions held by the Powers in China, served to quicken interest in that country, and an open competition set in between capitalists of various nations for concessions in that empire. The Ministers representing the Powers each sought to further the claims of the subjects under his protection, and thus a regular scramble for industrial and constructive privileges set in. Every week brought its crop of facilities; mining rights were conceded in Pechili, Honan, and Shensi to syndicates of various nationalities. Railways were designed at a rate which reminded one of the days of King Hudson at home. Each nation competed with the others for preferential treatment, and in a very short space of time concessions were accorded by the Tsungli Yamen to various nations and places for the construction of railways as follow:—

To Russia—The Manchurian extension of the Siberian Railway, as already stated; various branches of the same in Manchuria down to the Great Wall.

To Belgium—A trunk line to unite Peking with Hankow. This undertaking, nominally granted to a syndicate of Belgian capitalists, is with good reason reported to be really vested in the Russo-Chinese Bank.

To the United States — A line from Wuchang opposite Hankow, in continuation of the last, to Canton; thus completing a north to south line of communication through the eighteen provinces.

To France—A line from Haiphong to Yunnan Fu; a railway from Hanoi (partly open) to Nanning and Pakhoi.

To Germany—A line from Kiao Chau to Tsinan Fu, and another from the same place to Ichau Fu.

To Great Britain—A railway from Tientsin to Chinkiang; another from Ningpo to Shanghai, and thence along the Yangtse river to Nanking; a railway from Kauloon to Canton, and thence to Suchow and Chengtu; a line from Kunlong Ferry on the Burma frontier to Tali Fu and Chungking.

These are the principal schemes authorised in response to constant heckling of the Tsungli Yamen in 1898. Many of them will not in any case be attempted for years to come; some will in all probability never be built. But they have all been authorised, and their concession aroused much discussion and some squabbling between the Chinese officials and the Powers concerned.

It was in the summer of 1898, just when the struggle for concessions was at its height, that the Emperor Kwangsu, who had held the control of the Government for close on ten years, displayed his first tendencies towards reforming his country. The complete history of this matter is not yet known, but it is evident that the Emperor had surrounded himself with a number of enlightened and progressive advisers whose counsels carried weight with him, and that in response to these he decided on a reform campaign with the object of imitating the strides achieved by Japan, and placing China among the Powers of the world. On the 6th July Peking society was startled by the publication of an edict ordering the establishment of a University and a Patent Office on European lines in Peking. Two months later a sensation was caused by the announcement that Li Hung Chang, the aged and trusted councillor of so many rulers, had been degraded and dismissed from the Tsungli Yamen, of which he had always been a prominent and ultra-conservative member. On the 18th of September another edict was issued, according universally the right of memorialising the Throne; and four days later the Dowager Empress Tsi Hsi, who had been impatiently watching the Emperor's acts, took matters in hand and assumed the control of the Government without ceremony.

A rumour became immediately current that Kwangsu had been put to death. This was subsequently contradicted, and on the 27th of the same month the Empress issued an edict in her own name withdrawing those previously promulgated by the Emperor; while Kwangsu's advisers, including Chang Yen Huan, who acted as Chinese Envoy at our Queen's Jubilee, and all the mandarins known to hold progressive views, were arrested, some being degraded and banished, while others were executed forthwith. Kang Yu Wei, the prime favourite and councillor, who had taken the most prominent part in prompting the Emperor's reform policy, got wind of the approaching *debâcle* and succeeded in escaping to Shanghai, despite the large reward that was placed upon his head. For a few days a reign of terror set in at Peking, and the Ministers at the Legations, fearing the outbreak of further trouble, ordered up escorts for the defence of the Legations. After the customary objections on the part of the Tsungli Yamen, the necessary authority was obtained, as some say under threats of doing without it if it were refused, and a small force of British, French, German, and Russian guards reached their respective Legations at

Peking on the 7th October. The strengthening of the Legations was followed by the publication of further retrogressive edicts by the Dowager Empress. One on the 10th of October decreed "a return to the old order of things," another on the 13th suppressed all Chinese newspapers, and in consequence of these the rumour again became current that the Emperor Kwangsu had been poisoned by order of the Empress.

In order to allay this rumour, Tsi Hsi ordered Dr. Dethive, of the French Legation, to visit Kwangsu at the Palace and examine him as to his state of health. The interview took place on the 19th October, and the doctor certified that he found the Emperor ailing but not in any danger, thus reassuring the public mind on the subject.

Thus was the Emperor informally deposed, and the reins of government usurped by the masterful ex-concubine of the Emperor Hienfung, while the reforming tendencies of the educated Chinese were quelled by the insistence of the same unconscionable female. After a while things resumed their usual aspect in Peking. The Legation guards were dismissed to their ships, and it became recognised that all danger of further trouble arising from the high-handed action of the Dowager Empress was at an end.

Before detailing the incidents which led to the present crisis in China, it is advisable to glance at the political condition of that Empire at the beginning of the present year. Starting from a period when their country was shut off from the rest of the world, the inhabitants, by their exclusion and interdependence, came to regard the Celestial Empire as the beginning and the end of all that is of any consequence in mundane affairs. While barely suspecting the existence of other nations, they viewed them as dimly outlined areas on the murky horizon by which the splendour of China was surrounded, and they thus came to cultivate a conceit such as has never before characterised a nation.

By slow degrees the nations of the West forced their presence on this evasive people. From small beginnings great events arose, and the efforts of the early traders were succeeded by the ambitious workings of the exploiter and the land-grabber, until, gradually realising the real impotence of the Chinese, unscrupulous Powers came to regard China as a no man's land, open to the spoliation of the first arrival.

In this way Russia fastened on the northern boundaries of China, while France fixed her clutches on the south. Each succeeded in despoiling her, until, finding herself stripped of whole provinces, she gathered courage and cried "Hold, enough." But the process went on, and yet more territory was lost, while new prospectors descended on the scene and joined in the scramble. Thus every Power which held relations with China helped to strip her, save only two—Britain and the United States. The two great Anglo-Saxon empires alone refrained from the partitioning of China, and to these the Celestials turned for succour and for aid. The appeal for support against continued robbery was refused, and China found herself dependent on her own exertions for the prolongation of her existence. Such are the facts which preceded the present struggle. China came to realise that her only chance lay in the cessation of foreign intercourse and the expulsion of foreigners from her shores. With methods antiquated and insufficient means, the effort was foredoomed to failure; but the Chinese did not know this, and they entered on the movement with all the enthusiasm of which they are capable.

Such is the explanation of the events about to be described, events which are destined to have a marked influence on the fortunes of Asia.

CHAPTER V.

THE BREWING OF THE TROUBLE.

THE year 1898 had been marked by an unusual activity on the part of Russia, who, with the arming and protection of her recent acquisitions in the Liaotung Peninsula and the construction of her new railway in Manchuria, had her hands full. In the carrying out of the last-named scheme Russian agents adopted a high-handed method ill according with the alleged peaceful objects in view, and the treatment accorded the Chinese with whom they came into contact along the railway route, as surveyed in Manchuria, incensed the natives bitterly against their Muscovite oppressors.

Notwithstanding the plenitude of her occupation in Manchuria, Russia found time to further her aims in other directions also. In more than one particular she found herself opposed to British interests, notably in the construction of the authorised extension of the Peking Shan-hai-kuan Railway, which had been entrusted to a syndicate of British capitalists with the object of its being continued along the coast as far as

Moukden and Newchang. Russia objected to this country having any interest in any railway to the north of the Great Wall, which separates the province of Pechili from Manchuria; and her protest, with the dispute which followed, seemed at one time likely to lead to serious differences between the two countries. At the last moment, however, the British Government decided to compromise, and by renouncing any claim to the railway, as security for the capital invested, beyond the Great Wall, the matter was arranged.

This understanding resulted in an agreement respecting the Anglo-Russian spheres of influence in China, which was signed on the 28th April, 1899, in which it is set forth that Great Britain engages not to seek any concessions for railways north of the Great Wall of China, or to attempt to interfere with any applications for such concessions which may be supported by the Russian Government; and Russia similarly gives an undertaking to Great Britain in regard to the basin of the Yangtse Kiang. Unfortunately, the terms of this agreement are one-sided, inasmuch as in the so-called Lu-Han concession, nominally vested in a Belgian syndicate, for the construction of a line from Peking to Hankow, Russia holds the bulk of the shares, and will, when it suits her purpose, announce her dominant interest in the line.

The year 1899 was, upon the whole, a non-eventful one in China. The incidents of the *coup d'état* and the execution of the reformers had well-nigh been forgotten. The usurpation of the Dowager Empress had been condoned by the Ministers permitting the Legation ladies to attend an audience specially given by Tsi Hsi for that purpose, at which the Emperor Kwangsu emerged from his retirement and delighted the gaze of the assembled dames, and matters settled down to the ordinary humdrum existence of the Celestial capital.

Events suddenly became interesting again on the 24th January, 1900, when, without any prefatory announcement, there was issued a rescript notifying the voluntary abdication of the Emperor Kwangsu. The publication of this edict took everyone by surprise. Among the sympathisers with the reform movement it created something like a panic. The feeling of the occupants of the Legations and those who had seen the young Emperor was one of regret; and speculation became rife as to the next move contemplated by the inscrutable Tsi Hsi.

It had not to remain long unsatisfied. But before proceeding to deal with the events which led up to the crisis of May, 1900, it may be as well to briefly review the situation in China immediately preceding the outbreak.

After an intercourse with foreigners extending over a period of nearly four hundred years, the Chinese remain strongly opposed to our notions of civilisation. Western ideas do not appeal to them; our inventions fail to evoke their appreciation, and our dealings offend them by their candour and abruptness. The fact cannot be too often insisted upon that the Chinaman's way of looking at things is not our way, that his whole out-look upon life is different from ours.

As soon as the novelty of the early intercourse with the English traders had worn off the arrogance of the Chinese character reasserted itself, and hence arose that series of disputes which disturbed the relations between the East and the West for so many years. The history of the intercourse between Europe and China constitutes a record of alternate warfare and conciliation, the Celestials only making terms after having incurred defeat, and breaking their promises immediately the danger of reprisal has been past.

From the outset the Chinese started with a fixed belief in the supremacy of their race, and a contempt for every other people; and their relations with foreigners have, even at those periods when they have been most friendly, been dominated by that idea. The only circumstance which rendered the continued presence of foreigners possible in China was the superior force at their command; and when, after the "Opium War," and still more after the forcible ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin, the Celestials realised this fact, they with characteristic cunning resolved to recognise the situation just so far as to avoid consequences unpleasant to themselves. In this way they came to observe closely the methods followed by the foreigners of different nationalities who came among them, and they speedily realised that these methods varied greatly.

In the English the Chinese found a people actuated by a code of morality in utter contrast with their own. The principles of fair play and honest dealing which marked our relations with the Chinese failed to impress them. Our toleration was mistaken for weakness, and our patience for fear. It was only after we had inflicted severe punishment on the natives that they changed their tone and came to terms; and very shortly after our forces had been withdrawn the old arrogance once again made its appearance, and the whole procedure had to be gone through again.

While the Celestials thus succeeded in periodically defying their British visitors, they found in their Russian neighbours a race of entirely different characteristics. In their dealings with the Chinese the Russians showed no trace of hesitancy or weakness. Concessions which the English sought by request were coolly taken by the agents of the Tsar without so much as consulting the people most interested; and while the traders of the South made a practice of paying for all they required, and honestly kept their engagements to the letter, the conquerors in the North seized what they needed without even the pretence of a *quid pro quo*, and never kept to their undertakings for a day after it had ceased to be their interest to do so.

This contrast is plainly shown by the results of three centuries of intercourse between the respective Powers. Great Britain, by dint of the outlay of vast stores of labour and capital, has developed a trade with China which last year reached a total of £42,500,000 sterling. She is represented in China by 5,562 subjects. Her shipping in the treaty ports amounted to upwards of 25,000 tons. The amount of Chinese territory owned by Great Britain, including Hong Kong and Wei Hai Wei, is under 550 square miles.

Russia, despite her more favourable situation in point of proximity and communication, boasts a trade with China of less than £4,000,000 sterling. She is represented by a population of 1,600 subjects, including those in the Russian colonies at Newchang and Port Arthur. Her shipping is so infinitesimally small as not to be separately returned in the customs reports. Yet she has seized Chinese territory to the extent of 888,830 square miles, without reckoning Manchuria, which is to-day practically hers, and will ere long be formally annexed, with the result that she will add another 362,310 square miles to her area in Eastern Asia.

Thus, while Great Britain has annexed Chinese territory to the extent of an area of the size of Carnarvonshire, Russia has despoiled the Empire of a region rather bigger than the whole of France, Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Spain put together.

And France, whose trade and commercial interests in China are the smallest of any first-class Power, has robbed that country of an area of 315,250 square miles, equal to the whole of Germany and Austria.

Thus it will be seen that the commercial and territorial interests of the Powers in China vary in a proportion in utter contrast with their relationship, and the lessons taught by these facts have not been wasted on the Chinese.

It is only possible to impress the Celestial by one means. No attempts at reasoning, no demonstration of logic, will affect his train of thought; in this regard his intellect is as impassive as is his countenance. The one factor for which he evinces a respect, the only manifestation capable of affecting his actions, is the display of force; and on realising that this is being employed for his coercion he at once becomes tractable. This fact has been demonstrated times out of number. It is seen in the record of every Power that has come into contact with China; it is the one unanswerable argument with which the Celestial is ever ready to agree.

Curious as it may appear, the fair play and consideration which have always characterised British relations with the Celestial have not evoked the slightest recognition in his understanding. So far from evincing a feeling of appreciation for the just treatment accorded him by this country, he deems us the weaker race, in that we refrain from despoiling his country and seek to attain by bargaining what other nations would take by force without equivalent. For this reason the Chinese have always regarded Russia as the most powerful among the Powers, and while they hate her for her imperiousness and the lack of scruple in her methods, they respect her for her strength and the readiness with which she is ever ready to use it in the attainment of her ends. And this view has been justified by the developments in international policy which have taken place in the past few years.

The intelligent Chinaman has been struck by the fact that while England is the oldest foreign frequenter of his country, and possesses upwards of sixty per cent. of the total foreign trade of the country, she allows her efforts to be successfully resisted and is constantly outgeneralled by Russia and the other Powers. He is told that Great Britain owns more wealth and greater resources than any other nation; but he refuses to believe it, for he reasons that if this were really so, this country would dominate the situation, whereas she is repeatedly worsted both by the Chinese and their rivals; and, finally, he laughs at the suggestion as he points to the fact that the effective influence of Great Britain with the Chinese Government is less than that of any other Power.

Statements such as the above are being constantly repeated in the Far East, and afford anything but pleasant food for thought to the patriotic Englishman. Unfortunately, however, they contain a considerable modicum of truth, and the fact remains that our influence in the Far East has greatly diminished of late years and that our former prestige has declined, while that of Russia and of Germany have increased in a corresponding degree.

The explanation of this fact is not difficult. It is due partly to hesitation always present in the mind of the British Government to increase further our already vast responsibilities, partly to a desire not to enter on an expenditure for political ends which might never prove remunerative, and still more to that insensate fear of Russia which has for a series of years been growing in the minds of successive Administrations.

The Empire of the Tsar, as by its frequent expansions it has stretched across Northern and Central Asia until it has reached the limits of British influence alike in the East and in the South, has come to be regarded—why, Heaven knows—as the bogey of British interests. Since the death of Lord Beaconsfield no statesman has dared to face Russia or to attempt to check her insistent advance. By a series of bluffs succeeding Tsars have obtained demands which were never seriously made, and no one has been more astonished at the invariable success of Russian efforts than the Russians themselves.

To take only one instance, that of the seizure of Port Arthur. It is now known that when, in response to the representations of M. Pavloff, the Russian Minister at Peking, the Russian fleet entered Port Arthur in 1897 the Admiral was instructed to withdraw on receipt of the first request for such a course from the British commander. Count Mouravieff did not for one moment believe that Great Britain would tolerate a Russian occupation of Port Arthur, and he only agreed to the experiment being made in response to M. Pavloff's urgent representations, and on the condition that no risk of friction with Great Britain should be run. Had we protested, the Russians would have evacuated the place. Their line of graceful retreat was already prepared by the announcement put about that it was only intended to winter the fleet in the shelter of the Liaotung Peninsula, and it could well have been subsequently withdrawn on the first excuse.

The British Government did not, however, protest. On the contrary, seeing the Russian bogey in activity, our politicians trembled, and conjured up visions of a war with Russia—a venture on which that country is far too well informed to embark—and, instead of protesting against Russia's invasion of China, the leader of the House of Commons actually went out of his way to justify her action, on the grounds that it was necessary to her interests that she should have an ice-free port on the Gulf of Pechili.

The lesson of this transaction was not lost on St. Petersburg; neither was it wasted on the Chinese. The latter noted the insistence of Russia, and regarded the acceptance of her action by England as a sign of this country's inability to contest it. The idea that our consent to the occupation of Port Arthur by another Power could be due to any other cause did not occur to the Chinese intelligence. And so Russia came to be regarded as a strong Power to be feared, while Great Britain sunk in the Chinese estimation and was held a decrepit nation which need no longer be taken into account.

Evidence of the truth of this view is provided in the remark of the Tsungli Yamen, made with evident sarcasm, to Sir Claude MacDonald when that officer offered to raise a loan in London for the Chinese Government. The offer was declined because of the objections raised by Russia. In reply Sir Claude pointed out that this was merely a pretext on the part of Russia which it would be well for China to resist, in doing which she would have the sympathy of this country. The mandarins replied that the only thing that would help them was a pledge of protection against Russia, and that sympathy was useless.

This pledge was never given; and the Chinese, realising that they must not look to England for support against the spoliation of their Empire, braced themselves for a final effort to maintain their independence.

Unfortunately for their cause, they had neglected their opportunities so thoroughly that they were unfitted to cope with the emergency. Despite the repeated offers of this and other countries, the Chinese have consistently refused to reconstitute either their army or their navy on modern lines. The experience of Captain Sherard Osborne was repeated in the case of Captain Lang, who was engaged by the Chinese Government to take charge of the vessels purchased in 1886 to form the new northern fleet of China. Captain Lang, on arriving in charge of the five ironclads in the Gulf of Pechili, was placed under the orders of a Chinese mandarin, who, while he allowed him to teach the crews the elements of gunnery, retained the control of the fleet in regard to matters of organisation and finance in his own hands; and as soon as the men had mastered the rudiments of gunnery and drill, Captain Lang was dismissed, with the intimation that he could not teach the Chinese any more.

The fatuous arrogance which thus prevented the Chinese from learning the art of naval warfare, with results that nearly wrecked the Empire in 1894, seemed also to prevent the formation of an adequate army, though various qualified observers have borne testimony to the military capacity of the race.

Much has been written respecting the prowess of Gordon's "ever victorious army," and the achievements of that force have been referred to as evidence of the qualities of the Celestial as a fighting machine. It would be well to bear in mind, in this connection, that the forces commanded by General Gordon during the incidents of the Taeping Rebellion, were only pitted against native warriors, many, indeed most, of whom were fresh from the fields or the slums of the big cities, and quite incapable of offering more than an impulsive resistance to drilled troops. A reliable estimate of the actual value of Chinese troops, properly trained, when pitted against European soldiers has yet to be formed; all statements which have yet appeared being mere expressions of opinion, not founded on any reliable evidence.

Normally there is no gainsaying the fact that the average Celestial is a braggart coward. Possessed of strong antipathies, he is keen to get at his opponent, and provided his onslaught is successful he vents his vengeance without mercy or hesitation. If he receives a check in his assault, he hesitates and quickly turns, for while death is said to have few terrors for the Chinaman, the instinct of self-preservation is strong within him. An examination of the facts connected with every contest which has taken place between the Chinese and foreign troops shows that the Celestial is unable to hold his own against a well-trained force; and, to render his chances the worse, he is easily discouraged by a repulse and takes to flight on the least provocation. His pusillanimity in the face of superior force is on a par with his brutal cruelty when victorious over a weaker; and the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the evidence available is that the fighting qualities of the Chinaman are poor, his courage small, and his *moral* contemptible.

The Chinese army such as it exists to-day is a remarkable institution. It comprises a variety of arms, varying from German-drilled regiments, provided with Mauser rifles, to bands of ill-paid mercenaries, armed with bows and arrows and taught to make ugly faces with which to frighten the enemy. The accounts current of the relative proportions and strength of these forces vary so greatly as to show that no reliable figures are obtainable, and I prefer not to quote any figures in this connection rather than give those which might prove misleading.

Such was the situation in China at the beginning of the year 1900, and the only incident which interrupted the repose of the political situation was the abdication of the Emperor Kwangsu, proclaimed, as already stated, on the 24th January. For three months subsequent to this event matters continued normal. It was not until the beginning of May that rumours became current that a rising had taken place in the south of the province of Pechili, and that a society known as the I-Ho-Chuan, variously translated Party of the Big Fist, and United League of Chinese Patriots, known as "Boxers," was leading the movement. This league, one of the most widely spread of the secret societies of China, has for its programme the expulsion of all foreigners from the country, and devotes its energies more especially against the missionaries and their adherents.

On the 14th May seventy native Christians were massacred at Kao-lou-tsien, near Paoting-fu, eighty miles from Peking. Troops were despatched to the scene of the massacre, and matters looked threatening. The Ministers in Peking met, and after discussing the situation decided to present an identical note to the Tsungli Yamen, with the object of drawing the attention of the Chinese Government to the serious aspect of affairs.

A document was accordingly drawn up and submitted to the Tsungli Yamen, in which the Ministers demanded the arrest and severe punishment of all Boxers or others guilty of attacks upon life or property, the execution of the ringleaders in the recent outrages, and the notification by proclamation to the people of Pechili of the fact that these measures had been taken. The Ministers decided on the same occasion to summon aid in case the trouble spread.

On the 24th May the Tsungli Yamen replied that it had taken the steps suggested, and had ordered the Viceroy of Pechili to take severe measures for the restoration of order.

This message did not satisfy the Ministers, who despatched a second note to the Tsungli Yamen drawing its attention to the great importance of the matter under discussion. The Tsungli Yamen, in reply, sent its secretary personally to reassure the Ministers as to the decisive measures which had been already taken for dealing with the impending danger, doubtless with the hope of gaining time and preventing decisive measures being adopted by the Ministers. The next day it became known that the Boxers had defeated a regiment of regular troops and murdered its commander and officers.

On the 29th May a large body of Boxers attacked the Fengtai railway station, eight miles south of Peking, while another destroyed the bridge over the Liuliho river, twenty-seven miles away. On the same day railway communication between Peking and Tientsin was interrupted. The European engineers working on the Lu Han railway were also attacked, and took refuge on a hill, where they successfully defended themselves. The receipt of this news led the Ministers in Peking to ask for the despatch of guards for the Legations from the assembled squadrons in the Gulf of Pechili, and the message asking for these was barely despatched when the news was received that a number of missionaries had been surrounded at Paoting-fu, Fengtai station burned, and the railway wrecked for miles.

From this date events moved rapidly. A large number of rebels moved on Tientsin, while others continued wrecking the railway in all directions. The foreign guards, to the number of 450, arrived at Peking on the 4th June. On the same day a village near Tientsin was burned. It was also announced that Messrs. Robinson and Norman, two English missionaries, had been murdered near Paoting-fu, and the bodies of both shockingly mutilated. Anting station was destroyed, and the Boxers were reported marching in force on Peking.

These facts caused considerable alarm among the foreigners in China. The fleets off the entrance to the Peiho anchored close inshore and landed parties of bluejackets, while reinforcements were sent for. The activity of the Boxers increased daily, and communication with Peking became suspended. Bodies of British, Russian, German, and French troops were sent to Tientsin, and the Japanese landed a considerable number of men who were despatched to the same place. On the 12th June additional guards started from Tientsin for Peking, repairing the railway as they went.

Meanwhile events had been moving in Peking. The Chancellor of the Japanese Legation was attacked in the street and killed; Baron Von Ketteler, the German Minister, was murdered on his way to the Tsungli Yamen; the Legations were surrounded, and all communication interrupted. Contradictory rumours were everywhere current. It was said that the Legations had been destroyed, and their inmates killed; that they were besieged, and their defenders fighting for their lives. Food was reported to have given out, and ammunition exhausted. The Ambassadors were stated to have perished at their posts, after shooting their women and children. The air rang with contradictory statements, and none knew what to believe.

As soon as the news of the isolation of the Europeans in Peking reached the coast Admiral Seymour, commanding the British fleet in the Gulf of Pechili, decided to attempt the relief of the Legations. He went to Tientsin, and there collected an international force 2,000 strong, comprising British, German, Russian, French, and Japanese soldiers and marines, and with these he set out on the 11th June for Peking, fighting his way as he went. His progress was necessarily slow; his transport had been hastily collected and was insufficient, and his armament weak. After forcing his way half the distance to Peking, the Admiral found himself hemmed in by an overwhelming number of rebels, who had been joined by regular Chinese troops. Further progress was impossible; the allied force fell back, with 312 wounded, to find their retreat cut off. They thereupon stood at bay, and kept the Chinese off until assistance came, fourteen days later, when the Allies fell back on Tientsin.

Tientsin was at this time surrounded by large numbers of Chinese, who sought to capture the foreign concessions, without success. The investment became closer every day, and the attack more fierce. The occupants of the foreign concessions were entirely surrounded; fighting continued day and night, and it looked very much as though the city must fall, failing the arrival of reinforcements.

While these incidents were progressing the various Powers were arranging for the despatch of troops to China. Russia, Japan, Germany, and Great Britain all bestirred themselves to this end, though it was soon evident that the efforts of neither Russia nor Japan were what they might have been in face of the urgency of the situation. Meanwhile the Powers had despatched vessels to the estuary of the Peiho, where a goodly fleet had been collected by the beginning of June. The presence of so many gunboats served to irritate the Chinese, who hastened to man the forts and showed considerable activity in the measures they took for the defence of the river.

On the morning of the 16th June the commanders at the Peiho noticed the arrival of considerable reinforcements on shore, while the Chinese were seen laying torpedoes in the river. The naval commanders thereupon held a council to decide on the course to be adopted. Subsequently an ultimatum was sent to the Chinese, calling on them to disband the troops, under the penalty of a bombardment, before next morning.

At one o'clock on the morning of the 18th the forts opened fire on the foreign vessels, which at once replied. The battle continued without intermission for six hours, when the forts were silenced. Landing parties were then sent ashore, and the forts occupied; it was found that with few exceptions all the Chinese garrison had been killed. Over 400 Chinamen lost their lives during the bombardment; the losses among the Allies being one British, three Germans, one French, and sixteen Russians killed, and thirteen English, seven Germans, one French, and forty-five Russians wounded.

The news of the seizure of the Taku forts carried consternation with it to Peking, where the utmost reliance had been placed on the ability of the Chinese to prevent the passage of the Allies. A number of high mandarins were degraded, including several generals, and urgent orders were given that the foreigners were to be driven out of the country without further delay.

This action, more than any other, goes to prove the complicity of the Dowager Empress in the anti-foreign outbreak. While it is generally believed that it was owing to her direct encouragement that the Boxers started on their crusade against Europeans, there is, so far, no actual evidence in proof of this; but the edicts issued by Tsi Hsi encouraging the Chinese to rid themselves of the foreigners are beyond dispute, and serve to demonstrate her responsibility for the events which have since transpired.

The direct result of these edicts was renewed activity among the Chinese round Tientsin;

the telegraph wire was cut, and the city isolated. The only news which reached the coast came through Chinese sources, and teemed with rumours, mostly devoid of foundation.

On the 22nd June an attempt was made by a Russian and American force to relieve Tientsin, without success. On the 26th a second attempt was made by a British, Russian, and Japanese force, which drove the Chinese before it; and on the following day Admiral Seymour, who had been relieved by a force 10,000 strong, returned to Tientsin.

On the same day the Chinese arsenal outside the native city was captured by the Allies, and the natives, greatly disheartened, fled; thus relieving the strain on the European garrison in the settlement. On the 29th the first message received from the Legations since the cutting of communications with Peking came to hand from Sir Robert Hart. In this he substantiated the rumour of the murder of Baron von Ketteler, and stated that the Legations were besieged and that the situation was desperate. From the end of June to the 21st July information as to the course of events in Peking was restricted to rumour, and the variety and sensationalism of the statements which found their way into circulation were such as to puzzle the most careful student of events.

On the 4th July it was stated that the Emperor Kwangsu and the Dowager Empress had both been poisoned. It was at the same time announced that Prince Tuan had assumed control of the Government, and that he was encouraging the Boxers to further outrages against the Europeans. On the day following it was said that the Dowager Empress had recovered, but that the Emperor was dead. After an interval of ten days, on every one of which fresh *canards* became current, the Mandarin Sheng, Taotai of Shanghai, informed the consuls in that city that the whole of the foreigners in the Peking Legations had been murdered on or about the 30th June.

Allowing for the difference between the Chinese calendar and our own, the tragedy reported would have occurred a few days later than this, the day subsequently credited being the 6th July. The story was speedily enlarged on with considerable detail. We were told that the Ministers, with the women, children, and Legation guards, having had no food for several days, had rushed out and made a sortie, which resulted in their being shot down by the Chinese troops, who then set fire to the Legations. It was added that those Europeans who were not killed outright were burned in the flames.

This story was narrated with the most

minute detail. Prince Ching, it was said, had striven to protect the Europeans against Prince Tuan's troops, but he had been repulsed and badly wounded. The victims had killed two hundred Chinese. It was even stated that the Europeans had shot their women and children before all was over!

The news, long expected, nevertheless caused a great shock throughout the civilised world. There were in Peking upwards of a thousand Europeans, including a number of ladies and little children, and their foul massacre at the hands of the fanatical Chinese constituted a tragedy at least as bad as the hideous events at Lucknow nearly fifty years before.

The announcement of the massacre served to encourage the Powers to make renewed exertions in despatching troops to China. An Indian contingent was already on the way; a second was requisitioned. Germany increased her drafts, and Japan bustled in her preparations to combat the Chinese.

On the 18th July came a new development. It was on that day announced that China had declared war against Russia, and had actually attacked her on the Amur river and captured the town of Blagovieschensk. On the same day came the intelligence that the Allies, 6,000 strong, had defeated General Nieh's army at Tientsin, captured the native city, and put the Chinese to rout. This feat had a marked effect on the situation. The result to the Chinese was even more serious than was the loss of the Taku forts. It showed that, notwithstanding their modern arms and improved guns, the Celestials are no match for trained European troops; and their defeat served to dishearten greatly the wire-pullers at Peking, who forthwith changed their tactics towards the Allies.

On the 20th July Wu Ting Fang, Chinese Minister at Washington, handed to Mr. Hay what purported to be a cypher message from Mr. Conger, United States Minister at Peking, who was supposed to have been murdered at the beginning of the month. The message was dated the 18th July, and was accepted as genuine on the ground that the cypher was one which it would be manifestly impossible for the Chinese to forge. While this incident was yet the topic of the hour a rumour became current that a number of the occupants of the Legations had not been murdered, but were safe. On the 23rd an Imperial edict was published stating that all the Ministers, excepting the German representative, were safe on the 18th.

On the 25th July a letter purporting to have been written by Sir Claude MacDonald on the 4th inst. was received by the British Consul at

Tientsin, in which it is stated that the inmates of the Legations could not hold out many more days, and reporting forty-four deaths among their number. A second supposititious communication from Mr. Conger reached Tientsin the next day, its purport being, "Relief soon if at all"; and then, after six days of silence, a letter undoubtedly written by Dr. Morrison, the well-known Peking correspondent of the *Times*, on the 21st July, was received by that paper and published in its columns on the 2nd August. This letter, which is valuable for the light it throws on what was transpiring in Peking during the siege, is as follows:—

> There has been a cessation of hostilities since July 18th, but, for fear of treachery, there has been no relaxation of vigilance. The Chinese soldiers continue to strengthen the barricades around the besieged area, and also the batteries on the top of the Imperial City wall; but in the meantime they have discontinued firing, probably because they are short of ammunition. The main bodies of the Imperial soldiers have left Peking in order to meet the relief forces. Supplies are beginning to come in, and the condition of the besieged is improving. The wounded are doing well, the hospital arrangements being admirable. One hundred and fifty cases have passed through the hospital, none of them septic.
>
> The Tsungli-Yamên have forwarded to the British Minister a copy of a despatch telegraphed by the Emperor to the Queen attributing all the deeds of violence which have been committed to bandits, and requesting her Majesty's assistance to extricate the Chinese Government

from their difficulties. The Queen's reply is not stated, but the Chinese Minister in Washington has telegraphed that the United States Government will gladly assist the Chinese authorities. This despatch to the Queen was sent to the Tsungli-Yamên by the Grand Council on July 3rd, yet the day before an Imperial edict was issued calling upon the Boxers to continue to render loyal and patriotic services in exterminating the Christians. The edict also commanded the viceroys and governors to expel all the missionaries from China, and to arrest all the Christians and compel them to renounce their faith. Other decrees applauding the Boxers speak approvingly of their burning out and slaying the converts. Their leaders are stated in a decree to be Princes and Ministers.

Another decree which was issued on July 18th made a complete *volte-face*, due to the victories of the foreign troops at Tientsin. In this decree, for the first time, one month after the occurrence, allusion was made to the death of Baron von Ketteler, which was attributed to the action of local brigands, though it is undoubted that it was premeditated, and that the assassination was committed by an Imperial officer, as the survivor, Herr Cordes, can testify.

The force besieging the Legations consists of Imperial soldiers under Yung Lu and Tung-fuh-siang, whose gallantry is applauded in Imperial decrees, though their gallantry consisted in bombarding for one month defenceless women and children cooped in the Legation compounds, using shell, shrapnel, round shot, and expanding bullets. The Chinese undermined the French Legation, which is now in ruins, but the French Minister was not present, M. Pichon having fled for protection to the British Legation on the first day of the siege.

The greatest peril we suffered during the siege was from fire, the Chinese, in their determination to destroy the British Legation, burning the adjoining Han-lin Academy, one of the most sacred buildings in China, and sacrificing the unique library, which has been reduced to ashes. The Chinese throughout, with characteristic treachery, posted proclamations assuring us of protection, and the same night made a general attack in the hope of surprising us unawares. There is still no news of the Pei-tang Cathedral.

The following are the casualties:—Killed: British—Captain Strouts, R.M.L.I., Messrs. Phillips and Scadding, civilians, Messrs. David Oliphant, consular assistant, and Henry Warren, student interpreter; Italians, seven; Russians, three, and M. Sitroff, of the Russo-Chinese Bank; Germans, ten; Austrians, four, including Captain Thomann, commander of the *Zenta*, cruiser; Americans, seven; Japanese, Captain Ando and five marines, M. Nikamura and M. Kojima, students; French, M. Herbert and eight men, M. Wagner, of the Chinese Customs, and M. Gruintgens, engineer. The wounded number 138, including Captain Halliday, severely, the American surgeon, Dr. Lippitt, severely, and Captain Myers, who are all doing well. All the Ministers and the members of the Legation and their families are in good health, and the general health of the community is excellent. We are contentedly awaiting relief.

Thus was an anxious world reassured as to the fate of the brave defenders of the Legations, and the good news served to stimulate the Allies to sink their rivalries and hasten their preparations for the relief of the besieged. How this was accomplished will be detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

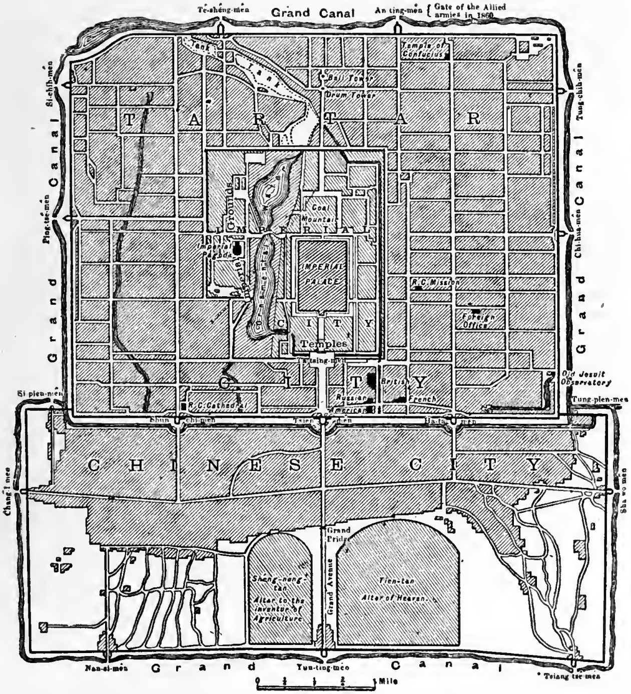
THE FALL OF PEKING.

The first capital of China was at Sigan, in the fertile Wei valley which crosses the province of Shensi. Here for over a thousand years successive rulers, representing eight separate dynasties, exerted their sway over the Celestial Empire. In the year 420 A.D. the Emperor Vouti, first of the Song dynasty, removed his place of residence to Kienkang, on the Yangtse Kiang, as being more centrally situated and better suited to the country's needs as the seat of Government. To mark the distinction conferred on the city by this change its name was altered, and it was decreed that henceforth it should be known as Nanking, the southern capital. This arrangement held good for upwards of eight hundred years, when, on the ascent of the Mongols, in 1260, the Emperor Kublai Khan chose the city of Cambaluc, in Pechili, as his seat of Government, which he renamed Peking, or northern capital.

Peking is situated in the midst of an extensive plain one hundred miles from the Gulf of Pechili. It is reached by road from Tungchow, the town which marks the limit of the navigable portion of the Peiho. The Celestial capital is in reality a collection of three separate cities. To the south, in the form of a parallelogram, is the Chinese City. Adjoining it, on the north, is the Manchu or Tartar City; within which, strongly walled and jealously guarded, is the Forbidden or Inner City, sacred to the Imperial presence and the appurtenances of the Court. The relative situation of these enclosures is shown in the accompanying illustration—

The Tartar and Chinese Cities are strongly walled. The walls of the former are 50 feet high and 40 feet wide. The parapets are loopholed and faced with brick. The protection round the Chinese City is 30 feet high and 25 feet thick. These walls are entered by a number of gateways, each surmounted by pagodas of several storeys. All the gates are closed from sunset till sunrise.

The aspect of the Tartar and Chinese Cities varies considerably. The former presents the appearance of a crowded and dirty metropolis, while the latter is only sparsely inhabited. The Tartar City is planned on an imposing scale, and possesses many fine buildings and noble structures; but most of them have fallen into a state


Te-shêng-mên
Grand Canal
An ting-mên
Gate of the Allied armies in 1860
Tank
Tank
Temple of Confucius
Bell Tower
Drum Tower
Si-chih-mên
Tung-chih-mên
TARTAR CITY
Grand Canal
Grand Canal
Grounds
Coal Mountain
IMPERIAL CITY
Imperial Pagoda
Imperial
Ornamental
IMPERIAL PALACE
Temples
Ta tsing-mên
Ping-tse-mên
Chi-hua-mên
R.C. Mission
Foreign Office
Old Jesuit Observatory
British
Russian
French
American
R.C. Cathedral
Si pien-mên
Tung-plen-men
Shun chi men
Tsien men
Ha-ta men
CHINESE CITY
Chang-i men
Sha wo men
Grand Bridge
Grand Avenue
Shêng-nêng-tan
Altar to the inventor of Agriculture
Tien-tan
Altar of Heaven
Nan-si-mên
Grand Canal
Yun-ting-men
Tsiang tse men
0 ¼ ½ ¾ 1 Mile

PLAN OF PEKING.

of decay, and all are dwarfed by the shabbiness of their surroundings. With the exception of the temples and the palaces in the Imperial City, the buildings in Peking are only one storey high, it being an Imperial privilege to look down upon the outer world.

Among the many noteworthy buildings in Peking is the Pi Yung Kung, or Hall of the Classics, in which are stored the text of the nine classical books which constitute the alpha and omega of Celestial learning. The texts are engraved on a series of 182 pillared slabs of granite, ranged in two rows round the building. In front of this building is a wonderful arch of yellow porcelain, the design of which evokes the admiration of all beholders. Another famous building is the Ta Chung Su, or Temple of the Great Bell, built in 1578 to accommodate the five bells which the Emperor Yung Lo had ordered to be cast a century and a half before. The great bell measures 15 feet in height, is 9 inches thick, and has a circumference of 34 feet at the rim. It weighs 53½ tons, and is covered inside and out with Buddhist mottoes in Chinese characters.

Other "lions" of Peking are the Kao Chang, or examination hall, where candidates for office are shut up in solitary cells for days at a time while they write laborious essays on the teachings of Confucius, and the Imperial Granaries to the north-east of the Tartar City, where the grain sent to Peking as tribute from the outlying provinces is stored. In the Chinese City, at the centre of four cross-roads, is the execution ground, where criminals, or those who have fallen under the displeasure of the authorities, lose their heads, which are subsequently cast into a field specially set apart for that purpose.

The great sights of Peking are, however, closed to foreigners. They are the Temples of Earth, Heaven, and Agriculture, and the Yung Ho Kung, or Great Llama Temple, which stands just outside the north wall. Each of these stands in its own park-like grounds, and all are regarded as sacred. The Emperor visits them at intervals, going every year to the Temple of Agriculture for the purpose of guiding a plough across a piece of ground in token of a good harvest. The Temple of Earth lies immediately outside the Anting gate in the north wall of the city. The Temples of Heaven and Agriculture are just inside the south wall of the Chinese City, separated by the Chien Men, which runs from the Yung Ting Men to Chien Men gate, leading to the Tartar City. It was by this gate that the Allies entered Peking in 1860.

One of the most remarkable sights of Peking is the ancient Observatory, by the city wall, which commands a fine view of the city and affords a glimpse of the yellow-tiled roofs of the Imperial Palace. There are two sets of astronomical instruments here. The more ancient, lying in a state of ruin in the old garden below, were constructed during the reign of the Emperor Kublai Khan in 1278. The more modern installation was raised by a Jesuit priest, one Father Verbiest, who made the globe, sextant, astrolabe, and zodiacal sphere, by order of the Emperor Kanghi, in 1674. Close to the Observatory is the Kwo tze Chien, or Confucian Temple, which dates from the thirteenth century. The main hall of this, more recent than the rest of the building, is a remarkably fine specimen of Chinese architecture. It is fifty feet high, the roof being supported by teak pillars, elaborately carved and bearing inscriptions in memory of the sage Confucius.

The Imperial enclosure, lying in the centre of the Tartar City, is regarded by the Chinese as sacred ground, on which none but the elect may tread. This holy of holies is of considerable extent. It is strongly enclosed by walls having a circumference of six miles, and contains a series of palaces, temples, and offices of elaborate construction, but mostly in a state of disrepair and neglect. The majority of these have not been explored by Europeans. Indeed, except on a few occasions when audiences have been granted by the Emperor to foreign Ministers in Peking, they have never been trodden by "barbarian" feet.

The principal buildings within the Imperial City are the Great Imperial Palace and the Imperial Porcelain Palace, both fine examples of the barbaric architecture learned by the Chinese from their Mongol invaders. Both are known to be crammed with choice specimens of Chinese art of extreme value. In addition to numerous minor palaces and temples, the Imperial City contains a spacious series of gardens, with a lake and many embellishments. It may be noted that the Yuen Ming Yuen, or Emperor's Summer Palace, sacked by the Allies in 1860, was not in the Imperial City, but lies some four miles outside Peking to the north-west.

Each of the sixteen gates by which Peking is entered has its distinctive name. The main entrance is by the Yung Ting Men, in the centre of the south wall, which opens on the paved road passing through the Chinese City to the Chien Men, or main gate admitting one to the Tartar City. A short distance beyond this is the Gate of Heavenly Peace, kept religiously closed, which guards access to the Imperial City. The Chien Men, or main street, like all its rivals in

Peking, is a wide thoroughfare, lined on either side by rows of gaily decorated shops, each with its elaborately gilded sign, while in the roadway between are several rows of booths and stalls where every conceivable requisite is on sale. The roads are not paved. They consist merely of mother earth, worn with cart tracks and horse and camel prints. In the summer these are covered nearly a foot deep in dust; in wet weather they are encumbered by mud knee deep. In places, owing to the inequalities of the road, ponds form, which in wet weather form dangers to locomotion where persons who are out after dark are frequently drowned.

There are in Peking neither pavements, footways, nor drains. The sewage of the whole city, with its population of upwards of a million persons, is cast on the roadways, being utilised in the hot weather to lay the dust. The result on the olfactory nerves can be imagined. It is, indeed, a marvel that the whole of the population has not long ago been wiped out by a terrible epidemic. The preservation of the people's lives is accounted for by old residents in Peking by the quantity of dust which everywhere floats about. This acts as a deodoriser, and stifles the poisonous gases which would otherwise surely prove fatal.

The parts of Peking of especial interest to

Europeans are those containing the European Legations and the various mission establishments managed by the representatives of various creeds. The Legations are gathered together immediately within the south wall of the Tartar City, between the Gate of Heavenly Peace and the terminus of the Tungchow Canal. Here, facing one another on what has come to be known as Legation Street, the only thoroughfare in all Peking which has a macadamised road, are the Russian, American, German, Spanish, Japanese, French, and Italian Legations, while the headquarters of the British Minister are up a street opening off this. Further off, surrounded by a number of Chinese houses, is the Belgian Legation, and midway between the two is the official residence of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs.

In other parts of the city are the Anglican Mission, the American Mission, the Catholic Convent and Hospital, and the building known as the Tsungli-Yamên, or Foreign Office, where all business connected with foreign affairs is dealt with, and interviews between the Government officials and the foreign Ministers take place.

The foreign Legations consist for the most part of ancient temples and palaces which have been acquired by the European Powers for the purpose of housing their representatives. They are of considerable extent, and all are surrounded by walls of some strength. The British Legation is the largest, and covers some five acres of ground, on which stand the various buildings formerly comprised in a princely palace, and now devoted to the accommodation of the Legation staff. It is surrounded by a strong wall, which being in good repair presents a serious obstacle to the forcible entrance of a rabble crowd, and, despite the paucity of ammunition possessed by its defenders, served by dint of their heroic efforts to protect the lives of the men, women, and children who had taken refuge behind it.

It will be seen that Peking is a city which is well adapted for defence. Garrisoned by well-trained troops, the gigantic walls by which it is surrounded would supply a well-nigh impregnable barrier against any form of attack, and the only chance of gaining possession of the enormous city would be by the slow process of starving it out.

Well aware as the Allies were of these facts, they did not for one moment hesitate as to their intentions. After a delay extending over many weeks, due partly to the necessity of waiting for stores and reinforcements, and partly to the barely disguised jealousy and rivalry between the different countries represented, an allied force numbering 12,000 men set out from Tientsin on the 6th August.

Immediately outside that city the Allies found a Chinese army waiting to engage them, and a skirmish took place at Hsi Ku, when after the briefest resistance the Celestials took to flight, leaving the road to Peking open. Pushing on, the relieving force found that the Chinese were in great numbers at a place known as Peitsung, where extensive earthworks had been thrown up, behind which the Chinese warriors were evidently prepared to offer a strong resistance. By dint of a free use of their machine guns the Russians, British, and Japanese, on whom the brunt of the fighting fell, compelled the natives to vacate their position, and the Chinese having fled, the advance was resumed without loss of time. The Russians lost 500 men in this engagement. On the same day the Allies captured the city of Yangtsun, seventeen miles from Tientsin, the Chinese garrison flying for their lives before the avenging Allies.

From Yangtsun the advance was continued without further hostilities as far as Tungchow, twelve miles from Peking. The opposition offered here was weak, and easily overcome by the relieving force, which pushed on and reached the outskirts of Peking on the 13th August.

Here a number of Chinese attempted to resist the entrance of the Allies, but after a few hours' hand-to-hand fighting the gates were blown up and the city gained. The east gate was demolished by the Russians, the north-east gate by the Japanese, and the troops streamed into Peking, fighting the natives who sought to resist their entrance as they ran in the direction of the Legations, to the relief of which they had come. It was found that, despite the hideous rumours which had been put about by the Chinese, the British Legation was safe, and the refugees who had taken shelter within it alive, except some forty who had died from wounds or disease since the building had been besieged.

The Chinese gave no signs of surrender in the capital, and street fighting became common; but the Allies soon showed their ability to deal with this, and, satisfied as to the safety of the European colony, they formed up and proceeded to surround the inner Imperial City. It became rumoured that the Dowager Empress, Prince Tuan, and all the other ringleaders in the recent conspiracy had fled to Sigan Fu, the ancient Chinese capital. Other tidings had it that Prince Tuan was still in the Imperial City. The troops thereupon set to work to gain an entrance to the sacred precincts of the "Purple Forbidden City," which was effected by the use of dynamite, and on the evening of the 19th August the Allies' flags were flying from the gabled roofs of the Imperial Porcelain Palace.

Thus was reasserted the right of civilisation over barbarism. But the task of the Allies is by no means done. To free the beleaguered Europeans from the thrall of a gang of brutal Chinese is one thing; but to restore order to a demented country, to produce good government in place of chaos, is quite another. At the present moment—I write while the situation is still vague and the movements of the Dowager Empress and her fellow conspirators yet unknown—the Allies occupy in Peking a city without a government, without visible control, and kept only from the wrecking of an infuriated mob by the visible force at the disposal of the Allies. And yet the situation serves as an eloquent comment on the much-vaunted heroism of the Chinese. Here we have a city with a population estimated at from a million and a quarter to a million and a half dominated by 12,000 European troops, who have forced an entrance and captured it with infinitesimal loss, and hold it in the hollow of their hands.

While the actual peril of the Legations is now at an end, much remains to be done. The bill has to be made out, and ample compensation for the damage caused to life and property obtained. The rebel "Boxers" and their equally criminal sympathisers among the regular troops have to be taught a lesson which will serve to quell their anti-foreign predilections, at least as far as openly hostile actions can go, and some form of permanent Government for the control of China and the conduct of international relations has to be contrived. This last task is likely to prove extremely difficult. To set up a form of Government is easier than to ensure its stability. And to obtain a guarantee that any Government will prove sufficiently strong to maintain its existence after the departure of the Allies would be a difficult, if not an impossible, task. For this reason it is probable that a prolonged occupation of Peking will be necessary, and it may be that the permanent stationing of European troops will be requisite in the Celestial capital. Whether this will be so or no, it is too early to surmise, but in any case the most delicate of the tasks involved in the reorganisation of China remains.

The most vital point in the present needs of the Celestial Empire is the need for the obtaining of guarantees, not only for good government, but for the carrying out of the various obligations incumbent upon the Chinese in regard to the Western Powers. The necessity for obtaining such a guarantee is imperative, but its attainment is not only likely to prove difficult, but is further complicated by the risk of involving grave difference between the various Powers interested. It would require only the slightest attempt on the part of any one Power to obtain undue advantage in the coming settlement to involve a dispute which in a moment might involve a risk of war, and where the interests concerned are so varied and the rivalry so keen the risk of such an occurrence becomes the more accentuated.

The situation must therefore be regarded as being extremely critical, inasmuch as only the ablest diplomacy, and I may add the greatest firmness, will suffice to bring about an arrangement without wounding the susceptibilities of any of the nations involved. In my concluding chapter I propose to examine the situation more fully, and to discuss the outlook as it strikes one who has followed the developments to which it is due with some attention.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OUTLOOK.

At the time of writing China is in a turmoil. Her effective Government has fallen into a state of chaos, and the passions of her most dangerous classes are let loose. The situation is acute and embarrassing, and the eyes of civilisation are concentrated on Peking and on the allied force of European occupants entrusted with the punishment of the Chinese responsible for the events which have occurred, and with the reconstitution of the Government necessary for the carrying on of the country, while measures are taken by the Powers for the safeguarding of Europeans throughout the Empire and the prevention of a recurrence of the recent horrors.

Simple as these measures may appear, their operation is likely to be fraught with considerable difficulty. Unfortunately for the cause of progress, the various Powers interested in China, with whom must lie the restoration of order in that country, are not only disunited in their desires, but have interests so diverse that the arriving at a mutual understanding with regard to unanimous action is practically impossible. In order to appreciate this it is necessary to examine the respective aims and interests of each.

Great Britain, since she first sent her wares to Canton in 1634, has sought to develop trade with the Chinese. She has never been imbued with a desire for empire, nor has she striven to increase her world power at the expense of the Chinese. Her seizure of the island of Hong Kong in 1839 was prompted, not by a wish to obtain a foothold in China, but by the necessity to obtain a place of refuge for her subjects who were placed in grave peril by the unprovoked hostility of the Chinese. Hong Kong was retained as a permanent reminder of the penalty inflicted on the Celestials for their treachery, and from its seizure England made no attempt to add to her possessions in China for fifty years. The leasing of Wei Hai Wei by this country in 1898 was, like the cession of Hong Kong, due to extraneous causes. The seizure of Kiao Chau by Germany, and of Port Arthur and Talienwan by Russia, had so greatly altered the balance of power in the Far East as to affect British interests unduly in the China seas. The situation at the beginning of that year was a curious one. It showed the domination of an Empire by two nations possessing infinitesimal interests within it, while a third held the biggest stake within its boundaries ever owned by a single Power. The bases seized by Russia and by Germany in the north of China gave each a possible dominion over the seat of Government, and recalled the axiom laid down by Russia when protesting against the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan in 1895. On that occasion it was urged that the Power that held the Liaotung Peninsula would control the destinies of Peking. Russia's action in 1897 had made this possibility an accomplished fact; and thus, while Germany and Russia each obtained an immense advantage over the other Powers in China, England, with her vast commercial and financial stake in the country, was left out in the cold.

These facts become the more eloquent when viewed in the light of the Celestial character. The Chinese have never, from the dawn of their intercourse with Western nations, been amenable to reason. The only factor recognised by them is force or its equivalent, and the ultra-importance of a naval base possessed by a foreign Power in proximity to Peking can only be realised when considered in connection with this principle.

In 1898, then, Great Britain found herself, with greatly diminished prestige, disregarded in China, and it remained for her to choose whether to abide by the masterful action of her rivals or to take some step which might tend to re-establish her influence on the same level as theirs. There was one other course open to her. She might have protested against the seizures made by Germany and Russia, and championed China against the partition of her territory. It is now too late to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of this alternative. The British Government refrained from adopting it, and the offending Powers made good their hold on Chinese soil.

Then it was that England emulated their example, and, by dint of employing pressure similar to that which they had brought to bear, obtained for herself the lease of Wei Hai Wei.

By this course Britain redeemed in some degree the prestige she had lost. But she also sacrificed the good opinion of the Chinese, which she had held for so long, owing to her consistent abstention from those very methods which she now employed. And, beyond this, her action was contrary to that policy which she had declared it to be her unalterable determination to follow in the Far East.

The prosecution of British trade in China had resulted in the building up of commercial interests in every part of the country where foreigners were permitted to reside. Thus it came about that England became possessed of trade interests which extended from Newchang to Pakhoi, and from Chungking to Shanghai. But, while her interests were thus widespread, she owned no territory outside the British colony of Hong Kong, with its contiguous Kowloon Peninsula. Her interests had therefore to be protected by arrangement with the Chinese, who remained owners of the soil, and no constructive defences in the nature of forts or garrisons were possible.

Under these influences England came to adopt a policy which, for want of a better title, became known as the "open door," or scheme of equality of opportunity, a principle which embodies all the factors of Free Trade. In its operation, the policy of the open door entails the right of trading at the treaty ports of China on all nations equally, imports passing being admitted at a fixed duty by whatever nation they may be owned. By this arrangement no nation is especially favoured, and all have to compete for Chinese custom on equal terms.

While there is much in this principle to commend it, it is one which does not find favour with either Russia or France, for the reason that neither of these nations is able to hold its own against Great Britain in an open market. The only way in which these countries are able to compete with England is under the protection afforded by restrictive tariffs, and for this reason their policy is to seek exclusive concessions, which, while enabling them to sell their wares, handicap their rivals by the imposition of restrictive duties. It is the old question of Free Trade and Protection in another form, but in its influence on the trade of China the question appears likely to prove an element of international dispute in the near future. England, if left to herself, would throw the whole of China open to competitive trade. France and Russia, if they got their way, would absorb it, and close its frontiers to trade other than their own. Thus, while England has ever striven for the according of commercial facilities, and the opening of more treaty ports under the regulation of the Treaty of Tientsin, France and Russia refrain in most cases from taking advantage of the facilities thus accorded, and seek, by the cession of Chinese territory to themselves, to obtain exclusive spheres of influence.

Thus has arisen the crux of the international question in China. The whole of Russia is closed to British trade except on payment of a prohibitive duty, as is also the whole of France. As Russia and France have absorbed erstwhile Chinese territory, it has in turn been protected by a barrier of import tariffs which tend to exclude British produce from its frontiers. And England not unnaturally looks askance at this action, and demands as part of her policy in China that the principle of the open door shall be observed, and that any ports of that country which may in future be opened to the trade of any one country shall be thrown open equally to the trade of all.

The adoption of this policy was first proclaimed by the British Government in 1897. It has been repeated on various occasions since, and the adherence to its tenets by the United States served to strengthen its hold in public estimation. While theoretically it is admirable, in practice it is surrounded with inseparable difficulties, inasmuch as it is impossible to insist on its observance unless all interested parties are agreed. And this can never be, for the reasons already stated.

The alternative to the policy of the open door is that of spheres of influence. This, if adopted, would entail the division of China into spheres suited to the requirements of the various Powers interested. Simple as it may appear, this policy is attended by two grave difficulties. The first of these is the effect it would most likely have on China. The second is the widespread development of British trade in practically every part of the country. The allocating of the various provinces to different Powers would necessitate an interference with our existing rights in those provinces. Such a situation is already arising in Manchuria, where at Newchang we have for many years past possessed trade interests. The gradual absorption of Manchuria by Russia has brought the agents of that country into contact with our traders at Newchang, and causes of dispute have already arisen which may at any time develop serious trouble.

While less desirable in the interests of this country than a policy of the open door, that of spheres of interest is more feasible and easier to maintain. The real truth of the matter is that an open-door policy, like any other which does not commend itself equally to all Powers alike, can only be maintained by the exhibition of sufficient available force to enforce it in case of need. If England is prepared to treble her fleet in Asiatic waters, if she is willing to embark on the expenditure necessary to station an army corps in the treaty ports of China, and provided she is resolved to use these forces without hesitation in maintenance of the principle of the open door, then that principle would be possible. But England has not shown herself prepared to make any such sacrifices, and the outcome of the recent policy of this country in China has been rather to demonstrate our weakness than our strength in regard to any intention of taking measures for the carrying out of any particular course of action. We have, in short, constantly wavered between an enunciation of definite principles and refraining from the taking of any steps to enforce them; thus, while protesting our intention of maintaining the principle of the open door "at all costs, even at the cost of war if need be," we took Wei Hai Wei, and by doing so emulated the examples of Germany and Russia in embarking on the policy of spheres of influence. Similarly, when those Powers made their claims on Chinese territory we took no steps to stay their acquisitiveness.

Moreover, while England has been talking Russia has been acting. The Ministers of the Tsar have no need to formulate a policy; their methods are fixed and unchanging. And while the British Government have been engaged in discussing the relative merits of various policies Russia has absorbed Manchuria, previous to her descent on the province of Pechili.*

Whatever the future of Central and Southern China may be, there can be no doubt as to one thing—North China is already in the grip of the Russian Bear, and is absolutely lost to us.

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* See the author's "Russia in Asia."

The question then arises, What should we do in order to protect our interests in what remains?

When dealing with the trade of the treaty ports of China it is usual to divide them into three groups. In the first group are the ports on the Gulf of Pechili, including Tientsin, Newchang, Chifu, and some recent additions. The second group comprises the ports of the Yangtse Kiang—Shanghai, Chinkiang, Kiukiang, Wuhu, Hankow, Ichang, Chungking, and several others. The third group claims all the treaty ports south of Shanghai—Ningpo, Wuchau, Fuchow, Amoy, Swatow, Canton, Pakhoi, and many others of minor importance. The division of trade between these groups is variously estimated, the figures given herewith being those arrived at by Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, than whom no one speaks with greater authority. He gives the distribution of imports in China as follows:—

Ports on the Gulf of Pechili ...	28 per cent.
Yangtse ports	40 ,,
Ports south of Yangtse	32 ,,

It will be seen from these figures that the trade of the Yangtse region is the most important. It is, moreover, more nearly British than is the trade of the northern ports. Indeed, until quite recently the Yangtse trade might have been said to rest entirely in the hands of Great Britain, except for the brick tea trade done with Russia from Hankow. The amount of words that have been uttered on the question of the "British sphere" in China, while nothing has been done to support it, has served to warn our rivals of what is in our minds, and they have lost no time in taking steps to forestall us in the boats of our exclusive interests along the great waterway of China.

Numerous statements have of late been made respecting British interests in the Yangtse Valley. That region, comprising something like one-third of the whole of China, has been referred to in the House of Commons and in the Press as the "British sphere," and much store has been set on an exchange of notes between China and ourselves made in 1898, on the strength of which the paramountcy of our influence throughout that region is said to be assumed.

The declaration of the Tsungli-Yamên contains no justification of any such assumption, and the statements which have been professedly based on it are utterly misleading. The actual state of affairs will be seen on a perusal of the Chinese note, a translation of which I append verbatim:—

The Yamen have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the British Minister's despatch of the 9th February, stating that the Yamen had more than once intimated to him that the Chinese Government were aware of the great importance that has always been attached by Great Britain to the retention in Chinese possession of the Yangtse region, now entirely hers, as providing security for the free course and development of trade. The British Minister would be glad to be in a position to communicate to Her Majesty's Government a definite assurance that China would never alienate any territory in the provinces adjoining the Yangtse to any other Power, whether under lease, mortgage, or any other designation.

The Yamen have to observe that the Yangtse region is of the greatest importance as concerning the whole position of China, and it is out of the question that territory in it should be mortgaged, leased, or ceded to another Power. Since Her Britannic Majesty's Government has expressed its anxiety, it is the duty of the Yamen to address this note to the British Minister, for communication to his Government.

It will be seen that the note in question contains no suggestion of regarding the Yangtse Valley as the British sphere, and that all the Chinese Government undertakes is not to cede any portion of that region to any other Power. This pledge is, of course, binding only so long as the Chinese are sufficiently strong to insist on its being regarded. In the event of Russia or any other Power exerting its influence on the Chinese to compel the breach of the undertaking, it would be necessary for England to defend her interests as against the offending Power, and not against China.*

It would be difficult to exaggerate the wealth and resources of the Yangtse Valley. Covering an area of 750,000 square miles (approximately fifteen times the size of England), comprising the greater part of seven provinces, with a total population of 165,000,000, this region affords possibilities for development equalled nowhere else. Its mineral wealth, though undeveloped, is known to be vast; coal, copper, iron, and gold abound, and only await intelligent working. The whole country is irrigated by waterways, which render agriculture easy and profitable and afford an easy means of intercommunication; and, excepting in Hunan, the people are, for the most part, quiet and orderly.

But, while the definite establishment of British influence in this region would tend alike to benefit British trade and Chinese prosperity, we have at present no claim whatever to regard it as our exclusive sphere; and, as already hinted, the efforts of Russia and France are already being directed to the attainment of such interests in this sphere as will enable them to dispute any claim which may be made to it by this country.

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* This question is examined at length in the author's "China in Decay."

Events move quickly in the East, and the Powers are each actively working in its own interests. If England means to consolidate her interests in China, it will be well for her to bestir herself and wake up to the exigencies of the moment, before it is too late to combat the counter influences which are being exerted by her rivals.

That the existing condition of affairs in China is doomed must be evident to every serious student of the situation. It is impossible for the clumsy buttress of Celestial stolidity to stand for ever against the resistless torrent of Western influence which is relentlessly dashing up against it, and the question is not so much how long China will remain, as which Power is it that will give her the *coup de grâce*.

Thinkers have always been divided in their forecasts of China's future. Some have conjectured the downfall of the yellow man, while others have prophesied his development into a danger to the civilisation of the rest of the world. Pearson, in his famous book,* brilliantly conceived, but quite outside the region of logical thought, forecasts the overrunning of the world by the Chinese, who, he says, will drive the white man from his markets and control the world.

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* "National Life and Character: A Forecast."

The reasoning by which the author seeks to support his theory has been discredited by more than one writer, notably Lord Curzon, who has discussed the whole question at some length* ; but, apart from all other considerations, a little thought should suffice to demonstrate the impossibility of any such Celestial triumph. In order to beat the world at its own game, it would be necessary for the Chinese to at least obtain an equal ability in those callings and activities by which the world is controlled. The Celestials can never subdue the West until they attain a military skill and prowess at least equal to that of the people over whom they desire to triumph ; and in commercial pursuits the Chinese must, before they can hope to control the trade of the world, have attained a skill in manufactures, and an acquaintance with time- and labour-saving processes, such as they are not likely to master this side of the crack of doom.†

As I have already pointed out, the Chinese mind is a very different species of reasoning machine to the European, and it would be as easy to alter the shape of his head as to change the methods of the brain which lie within it. A European is actuated by certain logical principles which render it easy to forecast his probable course of action under given circumstances. In the case of a Chinaman it is otherwise. There is no certainty about his ratiocination; he fails to distinguish between cause and effect. He reasons backwards and upside down, it has been said, and the charge is well substantiated. What is to be said of a people who do honour to their dead by placing cheques for large sums in their coffins wherewith to pay the cost of their living in the next world; who compliment a great man by requesting the gift of his old boots, which are suspended in a prominent place in the market-place; or who burn for firewood the young trees planted along the banks of the Hoang Ho in order to consolidate the embankment and prevent the recurrence of disastrous floods which have involved the death of hundreds of thousands of natives?

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* "Problems of the Far East."

† See also the author's "The Far East: Its History and its Question."

In every respect the Celestial is the opposite of his Western neighbour. With us black is the mourning colour, with him it is white; the European planes wood by pushing the tool away from him, while the Chinaman pulls it towards him; we welcome our guest by shaking his hand, the Chinese host shakes his own, while the visitor imitates the performance; the hands of our clocks revolve from left to right, the Chinese from right to left. Everything in China goes the reverse way to that which it goes elsewhere, and the Chinese train of thought is no exception to the rule.

One of the most prominent features in the present complicated situation is the marked anti-foreign feeling which has of late been evinced by the Chinese. It may be well to inquire into the origin of this manifestation. The exciting causes of Chinese animosity towards the presence of foreigners among them are not difficult to discern. First and foremost comes the aggressive action of Germany, not only in the unjustifiable seizure of Kiao Chau and the claim to exclusive influence in the province of Shantung, but even more so in the aggressive and hectoring attitude assumed by the swashbuckling German Emperor towards the Chinese. The terms extorted by Germany in compensation for the murder of two missionaries in 1897 provoked bitter hostility on the part of the Celestials; and the high-handed manner in which an attack on three Germans, who escaped without material injury, was punished by the burning of two considerable villages aroused a feeling of indignation throughout the country akin to madness. There can be no doubt that it was this insensate action that set in motion that deep hatred of foreigners which culminated in the recent barbarities in Peking. It set in motion the spirit of animosity and revenge which found an outcome in the Boxer rising, and which once aroused, speedily grew until it gained proportions too great to be suppressed. It is undoubted that had the Viceroy of Shantung desired he could have repressed the rising in its incipient stage. But he did not desire to repress it, and he was, beyond doubt, encouraged to withhold any interference by the direct command of the Dowager Empress Tsi Hsi, who saw in the movement a chance of ridding the country of foreign interference for evermore.

The arrogance of the Chinese is so extreme as to render any realisation of their inferiority to other nations impossible. Having acquired a number of foreign guns and a store of modern rifles, it never occurred to the Celestials that in their hands these weapons would prove less effective than in the hands of their European rivals. The first intimation of their own inferiority which reached the Chinese came with their repeated repulse by the advancing Allies, and it was only when too late that they began to understand that European troops are their masters.

The feeling of antagonism aroused by the action of Germany was further accentuated by that of Russia, who, shortly after the seizure of Kiao Chau, forced the Chinese to cede her Port Arthur and Talienwan. Realising their helplessness, the Chinese assented to the inevitable; but their self-esteem was sorely wounded, and the barbarous usage of the Russians in their dealings with the people of Manchuria served to make them hated as much as were the Germans. The subsequent occupation of Wei Hai Wei by Great Britain, the insistence on further privileges in South China by France, and the attempted cession of an area on Sanmun Bay to Italy, served to drive the Celestials to a sense of desperation; and to these causes of irritation many others were added.

The hypothecation of the likin dues to the service of the loans contracted with England and Germany had served to reduce materially the opportunities hitherto enjoyed by the mandarins for peculation and profit. The collection of the revenues of China has from time immemorial supplied a means for the making of an illicit profit by the officials, who, it is said, seldom remit more than a third of the sum collected to the Central Government; and the transfer of the likin dues to the Imperial Customs, presided over by Sir Robert Hart, stopped a very considerable source of dishonest profit. The mandarins were therefore equally irritated with the masses against foreign influence, and once brought into line in their ideas, they naturally took no steps to check the exhibition of anti-foreign feeling which became daily more marked. Another influence in the recent display of irritation is the missionary question, which has never been properly understood.

The status of missionaries in China cannot be considered from a purely religious point of view. If this were possible it would be easy to justify the movement as is the case in most other countries. There are two factors in this question which tend to complicate it, and to place it without the category of pure matters of conscience. The first of these is the universal observance of ancestor worship to which every Chinaman is born, and which dominates his mind to as great an extent as does a belief in the Creator dominate ours. The theory of this belief is complicated and difficult to explain, but it overrides the Christian view of heaven and hell, and is utterly irreconcilable with the principal tenets of the Church of Christ. The normal Chinaman is not actually opposed to Christianity. He takes the attitude of toleration, and practically says, "I have no objection to the faith you teach; it is a sensible creed, and many of your moral principles are identical with the teachings of Confucius. I should have no objection to become a Christian, but you tell me that if I do so I must renounce the worship of my ancestors, which has been practised from generation to generation for thousands of years; and I cannot do that."

The second objection to Christianity, as viewed from the Celestial standpoint, is political. The missionaries have from the earliest times served as the forerunners of the political agitator and concession hunter. The one follows the other with a regularity which has become proverbial, and it would be impossible to persuade a Chinaman that the one is not directly connected with the other. The conversion of a number of Chinese is almost always followed by the introduction of foreign trade and the development of foreign interests; and while the Celestial has no objection to Christianity, he has a marked dislike to foreign intercourse. Another factor in the situation is provided by the foreign interest so often exhibited in Chinese converts. If a Chinese Christian falls into the clutches of a mandarin, either by a breach of the law or by reason of his personal unpopularity, the missionaries, and as often as not the British consul, seek to aid him in his defence and protect him from the asperities of Chinese "justice." Such action not only causes the victim to become greatly disliked by his fellows, but tends to make Christianity more hated than before, and much harm has been done the cause by this means.

Returning to the *status quo,* we find that the situation is greatly complicated by the various causes to which I have referred. In the last chapter I pointed out that the most serious peril in the immediate future was a quarrel among the Powers, which would mean a great war. I will now proceed to examine this statement and explain it.

The serious aspect in the present situation lies in the justification it affords Russia for imposing terms on China. So long as she lacked excuse for action, other than that directed to the quelling of the Boxer rising, Russia had perforce to content herself with joining in the united action of the Powers. The declaration of war by China against Russia altered that. It is now open to Russia to demand such terms as she may think fit in compensation for the outrage of her frontier. Her excuse of aggravation and plea of the necessity for implanting a lesson on the Celestials will have to be respected, and nothing short of a joint protest, which in the present state of political opinion is hardly likely to be arrived at, can preserve the independence of North China. The final cession of the whole of Manchuria, the stationing of a Russian post to protect Russian interests in Peking, and the acquisition of a further harbour on the Gulf of Pechili are the least which may be looked for in Russian demands; and once firmly placed in the province of Pechili she will find herself at liberty to devote her attention to the extension of her interests in the Yangtse Valley, where her policy is aimed at an insistent interference with the practical monopoly hitherto enjoyed by Great Britain.

In order to counteract Russian policy in China it will be necessary for this country to bestir itself, and a review of the incidents of the past month or more does not encourage one's faith in the ability of the Government to deal with the situation. The attitude assumed by Lord Salisbury in regard to the China crisis appears to have been rather that of a disinterested spectator than of a statesman responsible for the protection of a country's interests which exceed those of all the other Powers concerned. Without dwelling on the underestimation of the risks which every political student, as well as every resident in China, has long realised, much might have been done which, without any certainty of saving the situation, might have modified it. An early notification to the Dowager Empress, holding her personally responsible for the safety of the British subjects in Peking, might have had a marked effect on the treatment of the Legations; and the prompt despatch of gunboats to such places as Canton, Nanking, and Hankow, under threat of instant bombardment in the event of any British lives being sacrificed, would have put an entirely different aspect on the appearance of affairs. No such means were attempted, and the departure of Li Hung Chang from Canton removed the only guarantee we held for the immunity of our subjects in South China from attack. This last incident was a gross piece of neglect for which we may yet have to pay dearly. It would have been countenanced by no other Power.

The interest of the moment naturally centres on the prospects of the Europeans at the treaty ports. Shanghai, thanks to the naval strength available, may be regarded as being fairly safe, and in any case the inhabitants would in all probability be able to take refuge on British vessels. But the condition of affairs at the outports is very different, and we may at any moment hear of outrages and atrocities rivalling those which so recently endangered the lives of the European colony in Peking. Hankow, Ichang, Kiukiang, Amoy, Foochow, and Swatow are especially imperilled. The natives at these cities are turbulent and anti-foreign to a degree, and the fate of the foreign inhabitants would not be worth an hour's purchase in the event of the rabble rising.

At the present moment the necessity I have so often urged for the stationing of a fleet of light-draught gunboats along the Chinese coasts and rivers is more than ever apparent. Unfortunately the despatch of such a flotilla requires time, and time means the risk of the lives of our women and children. The Chinese in their present mood are utterly irresponsible factors in the situation. There is not a mandarin or viceroy whose word is worth a "cash." Any protection accorded, any succour offered, must come from ourselves; and quickly, if we would stave off a series of tragedies such as have had no parallel. We must spare no pains and leave no effort untried in impressing alike on the Chinese and on the Powers that England is resolved to maintain her lead among the nations interested in China, and that she is determined to safeguard her subjects and her trade at all costs.

Having taken the steps necessary to protect our people, it is next our duty to look to the future and safeguard our interests. The time has come to put to the test the various brave statements made in the House of Commons and elsewhere respecting the readiness of the Government to preserve the integrity of China and our commerce therein "if necessary at the cost of war." The likelihood of any Power pushing us to this length, *if once we give them* *reason to believe that we are in earnest,* is very slight; but we must be prepared all the same. The interests we have at stake are tremendous. The whole of South Africa, to preserve which we are yet engaged in a gigantic war, is of less value to this country than is China! It behoves us, then, to safeguard our interests in China at all costs, and as a preliminary step we should notify the Powers that, whatever the outcome of the forthcoming negotiations, we shall resist the acquiring of any territory by way of indemnity or otherwise by any Power, or the granting of any exclusive territorial or commercial privileges which are not accorded to all alike. To protect our trade in China requires ships and men on the spot, and they will have to be found. The policy of trusting to luck, so long pursued, must come to an end. The necessities of the case may be costly, but the stake is worth it; and if we would retain our interests we must be prepared to pay the cost.

We have of late years made a series of grave mistakes in our Chinese policy. To have tolerated the seizure of Port Arthur by Russia was an error almost criminal in its consequences. Our acquiescence in the usurpation of the Chinese throne by the Dowager Empress Tsi Hsi was a folly almost as great. To have disregarded the ominous symptoms of the present trouble, despite their prominence throughout North China, was inexcusable; and to have agreed in the appointment of Count Waldersee, a German officer, to take the chief command of the allied troops in China, in face of the fact that our own interests in the country are paramount and those of Germany infinitesimal, was an error as egregious as any of those which preceded it.

I have already referred to the contrast between the Oriental idea and the European. What must the average Chinaman think when, after a series of years during which British interests have been neglected and England has followed such a line of policy as to convince the Chinese that her power is waning and that she stands in fear of other countries, she stands back and permits a nation like Germany to assume the management of a campaign undertaken with the object of punishing the Chinese for a series of outrages contrary to international law, civilisation, and good faith, in which British interests have suffered more than any other? This circumstance is to be regretted from every point of view, and cannot but tend to still further diminish the reputation of this country in the Far East.

We have of late years made many mistakes in China; it is time for us to recognise this, and retrieve the past by an intelligent appreciation of the future. In order to save the situation no very drastic measures are requisite. By the existing treaties the position of Great Britain in the Far East is assured; assuming, that is, that the provisions of existing treaties be carried out. A number of the most important of the privileges accorded by the conventions we have negotiated with China have never been observed, notably that which accords the right of residence and travel throughout China to all foreigners. This point has from time to time been withheld on the plea that the authorities are not able to guarantee the safety of such travellers. The onus of responsibility in such cases should be laid on the shoulders of the provincial governors and viceroys, who are thoroughly capable of affording the protection required. But it is these officials who are amongst the most anti-foreign of the Chinese, and the plea urged against an increase in foreign intercourse is largely due to their efforts.

The points which it is desirable to attain in the interests of England are as follow:—

1. China to be opened from end to end to travellers and traders of all nations, who shall enjoy equal freedom to enter the various provinces and reside there.

2. Absolute equality of treatment of all nations.

3. No further cessions of territory to any foreign Power.

4. All illegal taxes to be abolished.

5. The rivers of China which have been declared open to foreign trade, but which still remain closed, to be opened forthwith.

6. The smugglers who infest the Canton river and its vicinity to be repressed without mercy.

7. The Ambassadors representing the Powers at Peking to have the right of personal audience with the Emperor, just as they have with the rulers of other Powers.

There is nothing in any of these demands which is either unjust or unreasonable. With the exception of the last named, they have all been conceded in various treaties, which have become a dead letter owing to the reluctance of the Chinese. It must be borne in mind that the Celestials have just undergone a lesson which is not yet forgotten, and that now is the time to act. To obtain these requirements now would be comparatively easy; whereas if time is wasted and the Chinese are allowed to forget their recent chastisement, they will regain their old arrogance and prove themselves as obstructive as before.

The great difficulty in the present situation is the rivalry between the various Powers. With our more unscrupulous neighbours the present opportunity is too good to be wasted, and each is about to seek an advantage for itself. Thus

Russia is bent on obtaining the exclusive cession of Manchuria, which she will claim by right of conquest and in compensation for the attack she has suffered at the hands of the infuriated Chinese. France will support Russia in her demand, and will doubtless put in a claim for further concessions in the South—as likely as not the transference of the island of Hainan to her rule. Germany, having the biggest grievance against the Chinese, is certain to make large demands in compensation for the murder of her Ambassador and an insult to her flag. Her demand will probably include a very large indemnity and an extension of her rights in Shantung.

The question of the course likely to be taken by Japan is replete with interest. The Island Empire has long been seeking an opportunity to obtain a footing on the mainland of Asia. She has not forgotten the fate which overtook her on the last occasion when she triumphed over the Chinese in 1894, and after obtaining the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula was ordered to renounce it by Russia, France, and Germany. For this reason she hung back on the outbreak of the recent crisis, and only consented to despatch troops to deal with the rioters on receiving an assurance that the Powers would welcome such action on her part. On receiving this Japan despatched the large force to China which helped to make the relief of the Legations possible; and one may rest assured that having sent her troops to Peking, she will not withdraw them from China until she has received a reward for her services. What that reward is to be it is too early to suggest. It might take the form of concessions in the province of Fukien, which, being opposite the Japanese island of Formosa, is of special interest to the subjects of the Mikado. It might, on the other hand, be a transfer of Southern Korea to Japanese rule, which would, upon the whole, be a very good thing for Korea. It will in any case include the payment of a considerable indemnity.

There remain the claims of Great Britain and the United States. Both these countries have been grossly insulted in the persons of their Ambassadors. Every canon of international law has been broken by the Chinese in regard to them, and the necessity for the infliction of a severe punishment on the malefactors is evident.

Unfortunately, there is no ready means of reaching the guilty parties. The ringleaders have escaped. The masses are one exactly like the other, and there is no possible means of distinguishing the homicidal rebel from the innocent agriculturist. Under these circumstances it is greatly to be feared that we shall have to put up with the payment of an indemnity, with which to compensate the families of the murdered men and to make good the damage done.

The task before the Powers in providing China with a Government which is likely to prove acceptable to the Chinese, and permanent, is no light one. It is, indeed, fraught with immense difficulties, and even if the missing Emperor Kwangsu be discovered, it is questionable if a sufficient number of strong men of reliable character can be found to act as his councillors and obey his behests.

There has probably never in the history of the world been such a situation as is existing in China to-day. We have a country embracing nearly a half of Asia, comprising a population of close on four hundred millions of people, in which the Government has absolutely disappeared without leaving a vestige of its existence in the Imperial Palaces from which it has for centuries issued its enactments. None of the Powers can govern China; if any one desired to make the attempt, its essay would be resented by the others. To rule China by an international committee would be an impossible task. And there is no duly capable Chinaman in the field.

The situation is grotesque, almost absurd; and the means taken by the Powers to deal with it may well be watched with interest.

What is to be the future of China? Will she, like many another nation, pull herself together, and arise from the ruins of her recent collapse with a new life and new aim, by dint of which she will one day dominate the fortunes of the Far East? Or will she, like yet more forgotten empires, sink under the burden of the troubles she has accumulated? If the latter be the destiny in store for her, it must at least be owned that her fate rests on her own head. Any forecast of the probabilities in this problem must be a matter of mere personal opinion. In my own mind, and I say it as the result of many years of careful observation, it is the fate of China to be absorbed into other nations, and as a separate entity to cease to exist. The reader who has perused this little book thus far must see that there is ample justification for this opinion. The increasing eagerness of her neighbouring Powers has been met merely by a passionate clinging to antiquated ideas and exploded theories, until China has given herself away beyond recall. By dint of her ignorance, her conservatism, and her arrogance, she has, all unconsciously, led her despoilers on and encouraged them in their aggressions. The utter absence of patriotism in the Chinese character renders the rising of a saviour of his country—a William Tell or an Oliver Cromwell—unlikely in the extreme, and the power of mere impertinence, under the guise of conscious superiority, has long since ceased to be a factor in international politics.

In addition to these causes, there are others which all tend in the same direction. China serves no utilitarian purpose in her casual existence. The great Powers are all eager for territory and population: territory to develop and turn into a source of wealth and means for the employment of the superabundant capital of the world; population of which to make workers to produce that wealth, and to develop into customers who may supply markets for the consumption of the manufactures of the West. We have, therefore, on behalf of China no utilitarian aim to urge, while against her are the interests of the community of nations. It is scarcely likely that a weak and retrogressive nation will be able to maintain its useless existence in face of such facts as these; and, to go a step further, a proportion of the Powers are set of their own purpose on the annexation of such portions of the decaying Empire as they may safely grasp without arousing the anger of their rivals. China has, indeed, for a series of years held together in spite of herself. It is just this keen rivalry among the Powers which has tended to maintain the Empire intact.

International jealousy has prevented any one Power taking more than a piece off the fringe of the country, and the fact that each nation has been watching the others has conduced to the prolongation of the life of the disappearing Empire.

The fate of China, in short, depends rather on the attitude of the interested Powers than on the action of the people most concerned—the Chinese. While a number of the countries possessing interests in China would be ready to aid in the partition of the country, the rivalry and jealousy of each is so strong as to arouse an opposition to the acquisition of Celestial territory by any Power but themselves, and this very rivalry tends to conserve the existence of the doomed Empire.

From the standpoint of the patriotic Englishman the view to take is one of necessity. Any partition of China must be safeguarded by a regard for the vast interests which have been acquired by this country. Our trade must not be abandoned, the huge amount of capital invested in the treaty ports and elsewhere must not be endangered, and the prestige which is ours of right must be secured.

To attain this end it is only necessary to abandon the vacillating policy of the past three years, and to revert to the manly methods by which we asserted our dominion in the Far East. A fearless policy, in which justice and truth are insisted on at all costs, and any attempts by other Powers to interfere with our vested rights are met by an unmistakable preparation to maintain them, by force if need be, is the necessary line to be taken by this country; and if once such a policy be embarked on and carried out without fear or favour, then will the flag of England continue to be recognised as the banner of the greatest import in the Far East.

APPENDIX A.

LANDMARKS IN THE HISTORY OF CHINA.

Year.	
1275	Marco Polo visits China.
1511	Raphael Perestralo visits China.
1560	Macao granted to the Portuguese.
1616	The descent of the Manchus.
1634	Captain Weddell visits Canton.
1644	Chuntche, first Manchu Emperor.
1661	Kanghi Emperor.
1664	Dutch mission to Peking.
1689	Treaty of Nerchinsk signed with Russia.
1721	Ismaloff's mission to Peking.
1722	Yung Chung Emperor.
1735	Keen Lung Emperor.
1793	Lord Macartney's mission to Peking.
1795	Dutch East India Company's mission to Peking.
1796	Kiaking Emperor.
1816	Lord Amherst's mission to Peking.
1821	Taoukwang Emperor.
1834	Lord Napier arrives at Macao.
1839	Hong Kong occupied by British.
1840	Edict against intercourse with England. Captain Elliot enters Peiho.

1841	Sir H. Gough captures Canton and Amoy.
	Hong Kong ceded to British.
	Woosung and Shanghai taken.
	Treaty of Nanking signed.
1850	Taeping Rebellion breaks out.
1851	Hienfung Emperor.
1856	Lorcha *Arrow* seized.
1857	Lord Elgin arrives at Hong Kong.
1858	Canton taken.
	Peiho forts taken.
	Treaty of Aigun signed with Russia.
	Treaty of Tientsin signed.
1859	Mr. Bruce stopped at Peiho.
1860	Lord Elgin and Baron Gros reach Shanghai.
	Capture of Peking and destruction of Summer Palace.
1861	Tsungli-Yamên established.
	Embassies established at Peking.
	Admiral Hope explores Yangtse Kiang.
	French seize Annam.
	Tungche Emperor.
	Dowager Empresses appointed regents.
1863	Gordon leads Chinese against Taepings.
1870	Massacre of French consul, priests, and sisters at Tientsin.
1875	Kwangsu Emperor.
	Dowager Empresses continue regency.
	Murder of Augustus Margary at Manwyne.
1876	Chifu Convention signed.
1884	War with France.
	French protectorate over Tonkin and Annam recognised.
	Emperor Kwangsu assumes government, aged sixteen.

1888	Tientsin-Taku Railway opened.
1894	Chino-Japanese War.
1895	Treaty of Shimonoseki signed.
1897	Murder of two German missionaries in Shantung.
	Germany occupies Kiao Chau.
	Russia occupies Port Arthur.
1898	Great Britain occupies Wei Hai Wei.
	Reform edicts issued by the Emperor Kwangsu.
	Coup d'état, Dowager Empress resumes government.
	Reforming Ministers executed.
	Powers send guards to Peking Legations.
	Reactionary edicts issued.
1899	Anglo-Russian Agreement *re* spheres of railway influence.
1900	Emperor Kwangsu abdicates, January 24.
	Rioting and murder of native Christians by Boxers in Pechili, May 14.
	Joint note from Ministers to Tsungli-Yamên to repress rising, May 21.
	Boxers burn Liu-li-ho station on Luhan Railway, May 27.
	Chinese Government issues edict nominally against the Boxers, but really encouraging them, May 29.
	Legation guards, American, British, French, Japanese, Russian, and Italian, arrive in Peking, May 31.
	Mr. Norman and Mr. Robinson murdered at Yungching, June 2.
	German and Austrian Legation guards arrive at Peking, June 3.
	Railway communication with Peking intercepted, June 4.

Admiral Seymour, with allied force of 2,000 men, leaves Tientsin for the relief of Peking, June 3.

The Chancellor of the Japanese Legation in Peking murdered by Chinese troops, June 11.

Peking isolated and communication cut, June 11.

Admiral Seymour's force hemmed in by rebels at Langfang, June 11.

Taku forts open fire on allied fleet, forts bombarded and captured after six hours' bombardment, June 17.

Baron von Ketteler, German Minister, murdered by Chinese in the streets of Peking, June 18.

Indian contingent, under Sir A. Gaselee, ordered to proceed to China, June 20.

Tientsin attacked by Imperial troops, occupants in great danger, June 21.

Attempt to relieve Tientsin by Russian and American troops fails, June 22.

Allied forces, 8,000 strong, relieve Tientsin, June 23.

A force, 2,000 strong, proceeds to relief of Admiral Seymour, who is still hemmed in by the rebels, June 24.

Admiral Seymour relieved and returns to Tientsin, June 26.

Allied forces at Taku and Tientsin 14,000 strong, June 30.

Native city of Tientsin captured by the Allies, June 30.

Sir Robert Hart's message received at Chifu detailing the great peril of the Legations, July 1.

Foreign settlement at Tientsin bombarded by Chinese, July 3.

Detailed account published on Chinese authority of the fall of the Legations and massacre of all foreigners in Peking, July 4.

Legations reported safe by native messenger from Peking, July 7.

Chinese attack Russians in Manchuria and declare war on Russia, July 17.

Telegram in cypher received by President of United States from Mr. Conger, American Minister in Peking, July 20.

Letter received from Sir Claude MacDonald announcing that the Legations have food sufficient for a fortnight, July 25.

Letter received by the *Times* from Dr. Morrison describing the incidents of the siege, August 1.

Allied forces, 12,000 strong, start from Tientsin for relief of Peking, August 5.

Allied forces occupy Yangtsung, August 6.

Count von Waldersee appointed commander-in-chief in China, August 8.

Allies occupy Matou, August 10.

Allies occupy Chang-kia-wan, August 11.

Allies enter Peking and relieve Legations, August 15.

APPENDIX B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The number of books on China is so great as to make it difficult for the student who desires to study the subject to make a choice. I have therefore deemed it desirable, in the interests of those readers who seek to learn more of that remarkable country than it is possible to include in a volume of the present proportions, to append a selected list of the more noteworthy publications which are likely to serve his purpose. I have divided these under the heads most likely to aid those consulting the list in choosing the works most suitable to their requirements.

CHINESE HISTORY.

The best book on the history of China is, beyond all question, Boulger's History, a complete and comprehensive work in two big volumes. A condensed edition is also published in one volume.

For purposes of general reference Professor Douglas's "China," published in the "Story of the Nations Series," is at once admirable, interesting, and cheap.

CHINA AND THE POWERS.

The political history of China in regard to the European Powers is recorded and analysed in the author's "China in Decay."

The student who desires more discursive works with tabulated statistics may consult Lord Charles Beresford's "Break Up of China," Mr. Colquhoun's "China in Transformation," Mr. Joseph Walton's "China and the Present Crisis," and the author's "The Far East: Its History and Its Question."

THE CHINESE.

There are two books on the Chinese people which are alike admirable. They are Professor Douglas's "Society in China," and Mr. A. H. Smith's "Chinese Characteristics." After perusing these the reader should have a very fair appreciation of the Celestial character. Those who desire further information on the subject might turn to Mr. A. H. Smith's "Village Life in China," Mr. Charles Holcombe's "The Real Chinaman," and Mr. Arthur Diósy's "The New Far East."

THE COUNTRY.

The volumes published by travellers who have explored China may be counted by the score. Among the most amusing and instructive are Dr. Morrison's "An Australian in China," Mr. Archibald Little's "Through the Yangtse Gorges," Mrs. Bishop's "The Yangtse Valley and Beyond," Mr. Archibald Colquhoun's "Across Chrysé," and Miss Scidmore's "China the Long-lived Empire," the first and last named being, perhaps, the best.

THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR.

Among the various histories of this campaign are Vladimir's "China-Japan War," Inouyé's "Japan-China War," and "Heroic Japan," by Dr. F. W. Eastlake and Y. A. Yamada. A good account of it, profusely illustrated, will be found also in "Wars of the 'Nineties," by Mr. A. Hilliard Atteridge.

RUSSIA AND CHINA.

The history of the Russian advance in China is fully detailed in the author's "Russia in Asia." Details of the routes between St. Petersburg and Peking and the Siberian Railway are given in De Windt's "From Peking to Calais by Land" and Arnot Reid's "From Peking to Petersburg," while a complete history of the construction of the railway will be found in Mr. J. Y. Simpson's "Side Lights on Siberia."

FRANCE AND CHINA.

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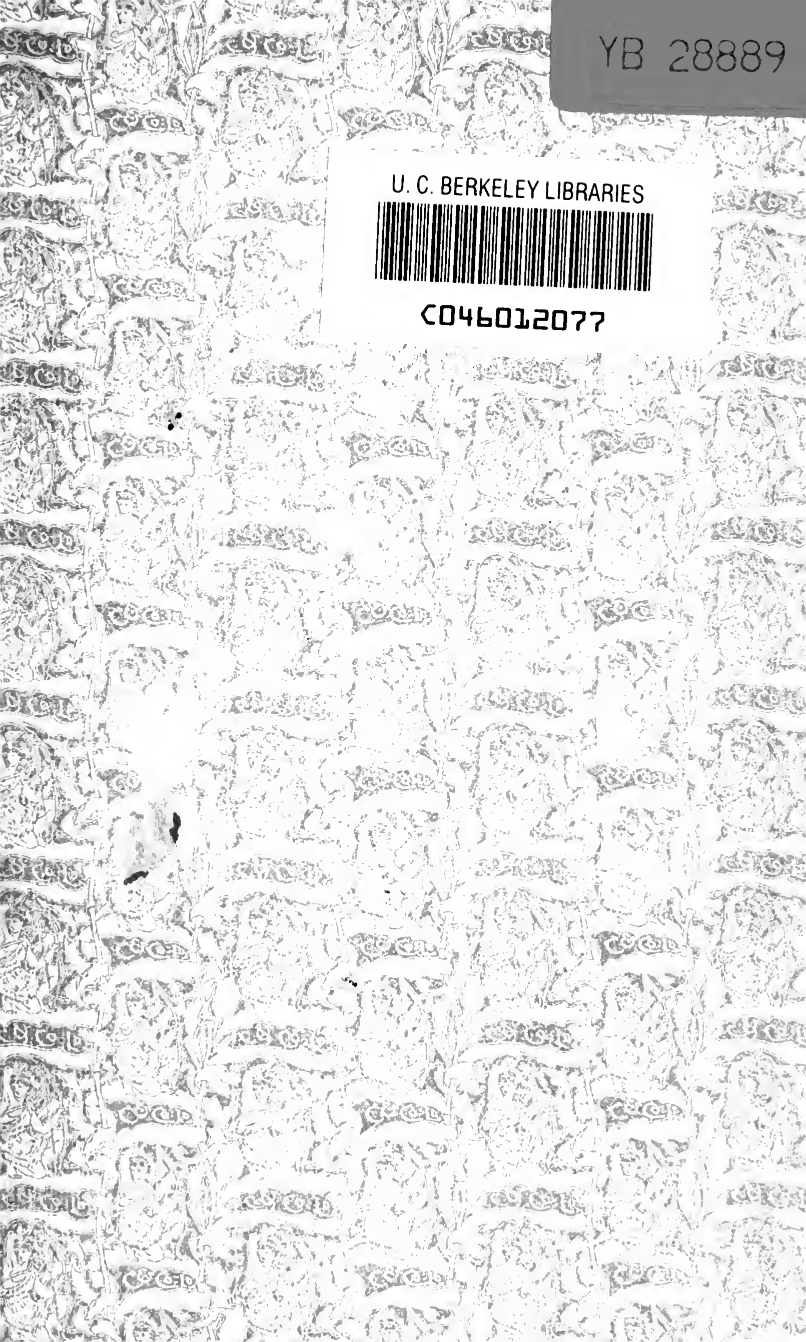

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